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## **An Historical Study of Adult Hebrew Language Instruction in Palestine from 1917 to 1948 and of Its Continuation in Israel's Ulpanim 1948 to 1960**

Sylvan J. Ginsburgh

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## **Abstract**

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Part Two presents the evidence of the period beginning with the organization of Vaad Leumi's Department of Culture of the Knesset Yisrael in 1936 and ending in May, 1948, when the State of Israel was established.

Part Three presents the current program as it has been conducted in the State since 1948, including the various types of ulpanim, the Israeli Army basic language and culture program, the Makhon le-Madrikhe Yisrael, the Histadrut vocational and language schools and the teacher-education seminars.

The Conclusions and Recommendations comprise the last section of the study. Footnotes and references are listed at the end of each part. The glossary and bibliography appear at the end of the complete study.

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Meir Ben-Horin

## **Second Advisor**

Lawrence V. Berman

## **Third Advisor**

William Chomsky

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AN HISTORICAL STUDY  
OF ADULT HEBREW LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION  
IN PALESTINE FROM  
1917 TO 1948 AND OF ITS CONTINUATION  
IN ISRAEL'S ULPANIM  
1948 TO 1960

by

Sylvan J. Ginsburgh

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
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A P P R O V A L

This dissertation, entitled

AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF ADULT HEBREW LANGUAGE  
INSTRUCTION IN PALESTINE FROM 1917 TO 1948  
AND OF ITS CONTINUATION IN ISRAEL'S ULPANIM  
1948 TO 1960

by

Sylvan J. Ginsburgh

Candidate for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

Max Freed-Hersi

Suzanne V. Ben

William Chomsky

Date March 11, 1964



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## PREFACE

### I. THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.

One of the most remarkable developments in the entire field of adult education has been Israel's success in integrating its large immigrant population. The complex problem of teaching the Hebrew language and culture to the tens of thousands of new immigrants and older residents, whose educational backgrounds ran the gamut from illiteracy to higher formal schooling, presented a challenge to the Israeli Government, the Jewish Agency and the Histadrut. The network of ulpanim and the Israeli Army's basic education program, which evolved out of this problem, offer many important values for the teaching of a second language and an indigenous culture to adult immigrants anywhere in the world that the problem exists and the challenge is accepted. The overall purposes, philosophy, school organization, instructional procedures, teacher training and financial support of these programs made them unique in adult education practice.

If the implications are to be fully understood, it is important that the complete program be studied in broad perspective. Analytical studies of particular phases of the program, which are yet to be produced, can be appraised more accurately if viewed against a broad, descriptive pattern of the entire range of adult Hebrew language and literacy education as it is being conducted in the State of Israel.

This study, therefore, has one central purpose. It is to



trace and record the development, over the past fifty years, of all educational enterprises dealing with Hebrew language and culture programming for adult immigrants and watikin in Eretz Yisrael.

As a significant backdrop to the central purpose, it was deemed essential to review the motivating forces of the early proponents and advocates of the Zionist movement who aligned the Hebrew language with the national aims of a restored homeland.

The evidence studied was secured from primary sources, documents and personal testimony. Even for the early stages of the program, ample data was available to provide a good panoramic description. However, since 1936, and particularly during the period of the ulpanim, a greater body of information was extant. As a result of the personal investigation of the writer during his nine-month stay in Israel (August, 1959 -- May, 1960), a fuller and more accurate treatment was possible, not only in studying the files and archives of the institutions engaged in Hebrew language teaching but in obtaining vital data from observation in classes, from interviews, conferences and staff meetings, and from newspaper reports. With very few exceptions, the sources were in Hebrew. The writer translated these into English. Proper names of individuals, cities and publications, and Hebrew nomenclature have been transliterated into English in accordance with accepted standards.



## II. SCOPE OF THE STUDY.

The study has been divided into three parts, each comprising a number of chapters dealing with specific time intervals and significant developments.

Part One devotes its first chapter to the influence exerted upon the organizers of the evening Hebrew language classes by Eliezer ben Yehuda, David Yellin, Aaron David Gordon and others. The remaining chapters deal with the adult Hebrew language program during the period from 1915 to 1936.

Part Two presents the evidence of the period beginning with the organization of the Vaad Leumi's Department of Culture of the Knesset Yisrael in 1936 and ending in May, 1948, when the State of Israel was established.

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The Conclusions and Recommendations comprise the last section of the study. Footnotes and references are listed at the end of each part. The glossary and bibliography appear at the end of the complete study.

## III. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

This study has benefited from the enthusiastic cooperation



and valuable documentary information and personal testimony given by the following persons: Dr. Shlomo Kodesh, Director of the Department for Language Teaching and Culture Education of the Ministry of Education and Culture; Dr. Gideon Freudenberg, Director of the Centre for Popular Education of the Hebrew University and formerly the Administrative Principal of the Bet Midrash le-More Am; Mr. Joseph Shaked, Associate Director of the Department for Education and Culture in the Diaspora of the Jewish Agency, and formerly the Director of the Department for Language Teaching and Culture Education; Doctor David Marani, Jerusalem area Supervisor of the Department for Language Teaching and Culture Education and a leading exponent of the ulpan method of teaching; Mr. Aharon Rosen, author of the Elif Milim series and an authority in the field of Hebrew language teaching to adults; Mr. Moshe Attias, Superintendent of the Jerusalem Board of Education and formerly the Executive Secretary of the Vaad Leumi; Dr. Moshe Avidor, past Director-General of the Ministry of Education and Culture; Messrs. Bezalel Shahar and Joseph Zaak of the Histadrut Executive of the Culture Councils; Mrs. Paula Apenshlak, Director of the Agaf ha-Ulpanim, Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency; Dr. Hayim Lipshutz, Director of the Orthodox Department of Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture; Mr. Shmuel Yavnieli, former Director of the Department for Language Teaching and Culture Education, and the dean of the organizers of language teaching for olim and watikim; and Mr. Louis Shuval (deceased), Director of the Hillel House in Jerusalem and formerly principal



of an early ulpan whose language teaching methods were based upon those of the United States Army.

Among the practitioners in the field, the writer wishes to express his profound appreciation to Miss Shulamit Katnelson, Principal of Ulpan Akiba in Netanya; Mrs. Shoshana Etan, Principal Pro-tem of Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem; Mrs. Esther Levenhartz, Principal of Ulpan Motskin in Bat Galim, Haifa; Mr. Ben Shefer, Principal of Ulpan Meir in Tel Aviv; Mr. Y. Stern, Principal of Ulpan Borokhov in Givatayim; and Master Sergeant Zfirah Barukh, Educational Officer of the Israeli Army, for their consideration, interest and personal attention during the writer's visits to their schools. Although Dr. Mordecai Kamrat, Principal of Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem, was not in Israel during the writer's stay there, yet the initial suggestion and encouragement to undertake this study was given first by Dr. Kamrat while he was in the United States in 1959.

The writer wishes to pay special tribute to Mr. Nahum Levin, who, at the time of his death in the fall of 1959, was the Director of the Erit Ivrit Olamit. Mr. Levin had been the National Supervisor of the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi and later became the first Director of the Department of Language Teaching and Culture Education. He was one of the founders of the ulpan movement. Mr. Levin implanted in the writer an urgency to proceed with his research notwithstanding the voids and limitations of well-organized records and primary sources, and the possible reluctance on the part of persons and/or departments



to furnish data. In his last visit with Mr. Levin, the writer received his blessings for the successful culmination of the work.

Mr. Zalman Shazar, now President of the State of Israel and at that time (1959) Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, granted the writer a personal interview and generously shared his recollections of the early years of adult language and culture education in Israel, when Mr. Shazar was the Minister of Education and Culture. The writer also met with Professor Martin Buber who graciously devoted a few hours to explain the background and purposes of the Bet Midrash le-More Am of which he was the principal for a period of four years; and with Professor Abraham Ibn Shushan, a former Director of the Department for Language Teaching and Culture Education, who discussed the importance of increasing the elementary teacher-education curriculum to three years instead of two, and of incorporating courses in adult language and culture education in the third year of the program.

The writer is especially grateful to Dr. Meir Ben-Horin, Professor of Education at Dropsie College and chairman of his dissertation committee, for his generous counsel and guidance during the period of work on this manuscript. Similar sentiments are expressed to Professor Lawrence V. Berman, Assistant Professor in Arabic and Islamic Studies at Dropsie College, and to Dr. William Chamsky, Lecturer in Hebrew Language and Literature at Dropsie College, who, as members of the dissertation committee, have read the study and offered valuable suggestions.

Above all, the author is deeply indebted to his wife, Bernice,

a partner in this undertaking, for her inspiration, encouragement and assistance in preparing this manuscript. Together with our son, Robert, we set out on our pilgrimage to Israel. Both shared the writer's enthusiasm for the project and helped see it to a successful conclusion.

S. J. G.



PART ONE

ADULT HEBREW LANGUAGE AND CULTURE EDUCATION IN THE YEARS 1915 TO 1935

PART I. ADULT HEBREW LANGUAGE AND CULTURE EDUCATION IN THE YEARS  
1915 TO 1935

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## Chapter I.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The deep yearnings of the Jewish people, as expressed in their liturgy, sacred writings and literature, to return as a united people to the land of their nationhood, where their culture was once creative and vibrant, propelled their Nineteenth Century determination to become again a free people in their homeland and to re-establish Hebrew as their national language of Zion. It was both a religious and nationalistic renaissance which influenced the early pioneers in the Hibbat Zion (Love of Zion) movement in the 1880's to revive the Hebrew language as part and parcel of the national rebirth. They believed that the language, which for generations linked the Jew to his culture, his heritage, and to Zion, would again unite the Jews for a revival of their national life in Eretz Yisrael. This aspiration, expressed in the prayer "renew our days as of old," took on veins, flesh and blood -- an active life's purpose -- a realization of the prophecy of Ezekiel in the Valley of the Dry Bones.

Among the pioneer and most ardent preachers in the cause of Jewish national restoration and the revival of the Hebrew language was Rabbi Yehuda ben Solomon Hai Alkali of Croatia. In 1841, he published a booklet entitled Shema Yisrael, in which he proposed the creation of Jewish colonies in the Holy Land, by human effort, as the necessary preamble to redemption. In 1843, Rabbi Alkali completed his important work, Minhat Yehuda, in which he placed great significance upon the wide use of the Hebrew language, not



only as a prerequisite to restoration ideology and activity in the Diaspora, but as a necessary aid to the national life in Zion.

We must redouble our efforts to maintain Hebrew and to strengthen its position. It must be the basis of our educational work...I wish to attest to the pain I have always felt at the error of our ancestors that they allowed our Holy Tongue to be forgotten. Because of this our people was divided into seventy peoples; our one language was replaced by seventy languages of the lands of the Exile...These divisions are an obstacle to the Redemption. (1)

When Moses Hess' Zionist classic Rome And Jerusalem was published in 1863, the concept of national regeneration in Eretz Yisrael was his basic thesis. The Hebrew language was given a prominent place in the restoration setting. Moses Hess considered this phenomenon the Most "exhilarating and prophetic message."

The language is to be spoken by all the Jewish people inhabiting the land...for there universities will arise and a common language will be spoken by all the immigrants... Palestine will be a spiritual nerve centre for the Jews who remain in the various European lands. (2)

A number of Christian liberals manifested a deep concern for a restored Jewish Homeland in Palestine. The most impressive and eloquent spokesman for the cause was the authoress, George Eliot. In 1877, Mrs. Cross (George Eliot) published the novel Daniel Deronda. She placed in the mouth of her hero, Mordecai Cohen, strong sentiments of Jewish national feeling.<sup>3</sup> Daniel Deronda, who had taken over the pioneering spirit and mission of Mordecai, following the latter's death, stated the goal of his life's endeavors:

The idea that I'm possessed with is that of restoring a political existence to my people, making them a nation again, giving them a national centre, a cultural entity with a language and traditions where the Jewish spirit manifests itself in a new order founded on the old, purified, enriched by the experience our greatest sons have gathered from the life of the ages. (3)



Another great and forceful advance in Zionist aspirations and the national rebirth of the Jewish people in Eretz Yisrael came from the influence of Dr. Leo Pinsker. In 1881, he published his epic work Auto-Emancipation, in which he outlined his program for the regeneration of his people in their national homeland. Speaking of the characteristics of national life for the Jewish people in their homeland, Leo Pinsker declared that "national life is inconceivable without a common language, common customs and a common land."<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Theodore Herzl, the founder of the World Zionist Organization and the father of political Zionism, at first sided with the languages spoken in the Diaspora. However, he retracted from this position when he became impressed with the devotion which his colleagues and the Jewish masses felt for Hebrew as the national language in the homeland. The Hebrew translator of Dr. Herzl's historic book, The Jewish State, wrote:

He (Dr. Herzl) permitted me to eliminate from the book the chapter on languages, and instructed me to state that the language be Hebrew. (5)

However, the man who will be remembered longest for preaching most vociferously and acting most zealously for the centrality of the Hebrew language in the homeland was Eliezer ben Yehuda. He is referred to as the father of modern spoken Hebrew in Eretz Yisrael, and is credited with being the one most responsible for widening the horizons of Hebrew language usage.<sup>6</sup> Eliezer ben Yehuda was a dedicated and uncompromising man. He was possessed of an unswerving faith in the vitality of the Hebrew language as a cohesive force and a unifying bond for the Jewish people in their homeland.



Ben Yehuda became convinced of the validity and urgency of his life's work, the creating and compiling of a new and modern Hebrew dictionary, when he was unable to express himself in Hebrew. We read in the Introduction to his Dictionary:

As I was sitting in the Paris Cafe and talking to my friend, Beer Goldberg, in Hebrew, I began to feel a choking sensation. My vocabulary was the same as is possessed by any young man who has studied in the Lithuanian chadarim and yeshivot. This vocabulary is fairly adequate when discussing lofty philosophic ideas or abstract subjects. But as the conversation continued and the subjects changed to down-to-earth life situations, Goldberg and I were stymied. We looked at each other, practically with our mouths wide open as if we were gasping for air. These were grievous moments for me...moments and hours of birth pangs in the conception of a new and richer dictionary. And just then I remembered that there was a tractate in the Talmud called Keilin, and other tractates in which simple down-to-earth matters were discussed. I knew then that these will be the sources for my dictionary. (7)

During the period in which Eliezer ben Yehuda charted his plans for the compilation of his dictionary, he was happy in the knowledge that he was helping his people in the search of an enriched Hebrew language which could be flexible in meeting the needs of everyday life.

This is the greatest moment in my life, the decisive one. Now, I know what I must do. I know that lacking two conditions, of land and language, the Jews cannot become a national entity. Though the resettlement and acquisition of the land is not altogether in our power, but is dependent upon the wishes of the present rulers over it, the return to the language of our ancestors is entirely in our hands. No one can deny it to us. No one can keep it from us if only we will it. (8)

In 1878, at the age of 22, Eliezer ben Yehuda sparked the great movement to bring the questions of nationalism and language to the forefront in the discussions and writings of the Hebrew culturalists and Zionist protagonists. He submitted a letter to Mr. Perez Smolenskin, the editor of Ha-shahar, in which he took



exception to the views on Hebrew language usage as then advocated by the editor, and pleaded the case for the rebirth of the Hebrew language as a spoken tongue in the Homeland. He wrote:

...All the labor of our writers to revitalize the Hebrew language will be in vain if our people will remain scattered among all nations whose people speak many languages...As the Jews cannot, in all honesty, become a vibrant people unless they return to the land of their forefathers, so they cannot again become a creative people unless they revive the Hebrew language, not only in literary works, in sacred writings or philosophical treatises -- pursuant to the exhortations by our distinguished editor, Perez ben Moshe Smolenskin -- but especially in its spoken form by young and old; by men, women and children; in all matters and situations; and at all hours of the day and night--as all peoples do, each people in its own tongue. (9)

In 1881, Eliezer ben Yehuda realized his life's yearnings by settling in Eretz Yisrael. He established his home in Jerusalem and continued his unrelenting efforts to revitalize the Hebrew language. His home became the first Ashkenazi Jewish home in which only modern Hebrew was spoken.<sup>10</sup> This resolve, from which neither abuse nor abject poverty could swerve him, led to Ben Yehuda's greatest work, the publication of his monumental encyclopedic Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew, which comprises the accumulated linguistic wealth of the ages and abounds in words coined by the author and those derived from sources from the Talmud, the Responsa and the Holy Scriptures.<sup>11</sup>

Ben Yehuda insisted that Hebrew be written in a simple and concrete style. He sought to create a language which possessed a wealth of vocabulary capable of giving precise expression for each object and action, and which could have wide usage and popularity among all sections of the Yishuv.<sup>12</sup>

In 1882, Eliezer ben Yehuda together with Yehiel Mikhel Pines, David Yellin, Joseph Meyouhas and Dr. J. Mazah organized the Asso-



ciation Tehiyat Yisrael whose purposes were: 1) regeneration of the Hebrew language in conversation and the renewal of Hebrew literature and sciences in the national spirit of the life in the Yishuv; 2) education of children and youth in the spirit of Hebrew nationalism and general humanity at one and the same time; 3) cultivation of the soil and the launching of all-out efforts to increase productivity in agriculture, industry and commerce in the Yishuv; and 4) a vigorous effort to eliminate the spirit and practice of the Halukah charities.<sup>13</sup>

In the subsequent years Ben Yehuda was joined by the dedicated Hebraist David Yellin, and together they worked as a team that exerted great influence in the conquest of the Hebrew language (kibbush ha-lashon) in the homeland. Both were leaders in the newly established Vaad ha-Lashon in 1889.<sup>14</sup> They advocated the use of the Hebrew language as the language of instruction in all the elementary and high schools and teachers' seminaries of the land. Because of their unrelenting efforts the institutions of learning and the general community were gradually transformed into a viable Hebrew-speaking environment.<sup>15</sup>

A strong impact was made upon the Jewish teachers and the students of the Gymnasia. Slogans were soon heard and disseminated: "Ivri, daber Ivrit!" The reaction of the community eventually resulted in the elimination of the French and German languages as languages of instruction in the Alliance and Hilfsverein Schools.<sup>16</sup>

Several years after Eliezer ben Yehuda settled in Jerusalem,



he was approached by Mr. Nissim Behar, Principal of the Kol Yisrael Haverim Gymnasium, to teach in the school. Ben Yehuda accepted the position only after being given the freedom to converse with his students in Hebrew only, in class and out of class, in subject teaching and in social conversation.<sup>17</sup>

Among the most staunch advocates of Hebrew as the national language in Eretz Yisrael was the writer Reuben Brainin. In an address which Mr. Brainin delivered at the Ibriah Convention at The Hague in 1907, he stressed the indispensability of Hebrew in the process of national Jewish regeneration in Eretz Yisrael.<sup>18</sup>

The spirit of nationalism and the revival of Hebrew as the spoken language became part of the redemption idea of the religious Zionist leaders. In the late 1890's and the early 1900's, Yehiel Mikhel Pines pressed for Hebrew in the schools supported by religious funds. Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook, Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim in Eretz Yisrael and an exponent of religious Zionism, had, in his early years in the Volozhiner Yeshiva, such a deep love for the sacred tongue, that on Sabbaths and Festivals he would speak Hebrew only. He also composed verses in Hebrew expressing his attachment to Eretz Yisrael and the Hebrew language. In the winter of 1913, during the War of the Language in Eretz Yisrael, Rabbi Kook insisted that Hebrew be introduced into the schools of the Yishuv. In a letter to the Director of the Ezrah Schools, he wrote:<sup>19</sup>

..With all our might we shall contend against those who would interfere with the realization of these two objectives in our future—the rejuvenation of our land and of our language...

In 1909 a significant conference was held in Berlin. The deliberations lasted for three days, from December 19 through December 21. The participants included many of the greatest personages



on the Zionist scene and the most famous authors, writers and social philosophers.<sup>20</sup> The theme of the conference was "The Convocation of a Congress for the Hebrew Language." Mr. Nahum Sokolow chaired the meeting and Professor Martin Buber delivered the main address on the subject "Hebrew Language and Culture in the Zionist Program."

Professor Buber stressed the fact that the Hebrew language must constitute the central element in the Zionist program:

We cannot conceive of the restoration of Palestine as the national homeland for the Jewish people without the unifying and cohesive force that the Hebrew language can lend it. Our program will lose vitality and purpose in the absence of the Hebrew language.

Professor Buber explained that historically, nationally and religiously, the Jewish people was bound with ties of emotion and love to the Hebrew language. He praised the valiant efforts of Eliezer ben Yehuda in restoring the influence of the Hebrew language into the life of the Jews in the Yishuv. Pressing for a true recognition of the Hebrew language on the Zionist platform, Professor Buber said:

Of all the ills that have befallen the Jewish people, the most serious, the most grievous and the most dangerous one was the neglect of the Hebrew language as the unifying element in its development. Not only does this neglect weaken and cause impotence to a vital limb in the body of the people, but it actually can effect the disintegration of the entire body of Israel.

Let us not delude ourselves into believing that a national resettlement movement alone will satisfy the yearnings of a return to Zion, of a national Jewish consciousness and a national way of life. It is not for a temporary physical unification in the face of war or a catastrophe that we seek unification. We seek a total national regeneration in all areas of the physical and the spiritual. We seek an awakening and a stirring in the rebirth of the Hebrew language. If we have our language, we also will have our national unity and our all-out singleness of purpose. (21)



At this meeting Leon Motzkin deplored the lack of interest displayed by the Zionist organization in the propagation of the Hebrew language. Ben Avigdor stated that the founders of the Hovevei Zion movement did a great deal for the Hebrew language and Hebrew literature, both among the literary circles and the masses, but with the beginnings of political Zionism the advances in the Hebrew area, particularly in the publication and sale of Hebrew books, had been decreased. The full energies of the Zionist leaders, following Herzl's death, were directed toward bringing large numbers of Jewish settlers into Palestine. They were not particularly concerned about promulgating the Hebrew language and culture.

Dr. Ben Zion Mossinson, principal of the Herzlia Gymnasium in Tel Aviv, reported about conditions in Palestine in regard to the Hebrew language. He stated:

The work of the Hebrew teachers in Eretz Yisrael is most significant in the revival of the Hebrew language. This small group of dedicated persons in Jaffa has been fighting against the alien influences that have been encroaching upon the schools. But we alone cannot hold back the pressure. We are few against the many... (22)

Dr. Isaac Epstein, writing in the professional magazine Hahinukh, described the situation of the spoken Hebrew language in Eretz Yisrael. He stated that the use of the spoken Hebrew was increasing but that the exactness and correctness of Hebrew conversation left much to be desired, particularly with adults. He reported a slovenly manner and a careless attitude shown primarily by scholars and writers when they spoke or wrote in Hebrew. In family or group circles he heard a babel of languages, even in the same conversation. The language which fared the poorest was the Hebrew language, because it "lacks its semitic sound; it lacks a



rich vocabulary; it lacks precise expressions and idioms, and because it has not yet been fixed in the recesses of our brains and memory." Dr. Epstein concluded by urging a more serious and sincere approach in learning the basic Hebrew and the exact meanings and expressions in Hebrew for our desires and wants.<sup>23</sup>

Aaron David Gordon, social philosopher of the Zionist movement, wrote many essays in which he urged that the rebuilding of the homeland be done in a spirit of love and a dedication to socialist-Zionist principles. He applauded the efforts by individuals in the dissemination of the spoken Hebrew. In 1913 Gordon submitted an open letter to Joseph Hayim Brenner in which he expressed his pride and optimism about the penetration of the Hebrew language into the life of the Yishuv. He wrote that the idea of restoring the Hebrew language to a wide usage in Eretz Yisrael had given him deep personal satisfaction, since he found that it had become the "inheritance of the many."

We find schools completely Hebraic, a Hebrew Gymnasium whose academic level does not fall below any of the high schools in the enlightened countries. Hebrew is spoken in the homes of many families, as well as in the street, in stores, at meetings, at lectures and dramatic presentations. It is very encouraging to witness how many adults try to adapt themselves to talking Hebrew from picking up words and expressions. The understanding of the language is almost general in the land. In short, a Jew who knows no other language except Hebrew can conduct all his business in this language. Who could have predicted, who would have dared to believe, who could have dreamed thirty years ago that this situation would prevail at this time? (24)

A sincere belief in the revival of ~~the~~ Hebrew as the national language in Eretz Yisrael came from another great Zionist, Justice Louis Dembits Brandeis, Justice on the Supreme Court of the United States. Justice Brandeis had the greatest admiration for the Hebrew language achievement in Palestine. He stated:



Perhaps the most extraordinary achievement of Jewish nationalism is the revival of the Hebrew language, which has again become a language of the common intercourse of men. The Hebrew tongue, called a dead language for nearly two thousand years has, in the Jewish colonies and in Jerusalem, become again the living mother tongue. The effect of this common language in unifying the Jew is, of course, great; for the Jews of Palestine came literally from all the lands of the earth, each speaking, excepting those who used Yiddish (25), the language of the country from which he came, and remaining, in the main, almost a stranger to the others. But the effect of the renaissance of the Hebrew language is far greater than that of unifying the Jews. It is a potent factor in reviving the essentially Jewish spirit. (26)

A fearless champion of the Hebrew language in Eretz Yisrael was Vladimir Jabotinsky, leader and president of the Revisionist Organisation in the Zionist Movement.<sup>27</sup> He emerged on the scene to defend the Hebrew language during the fierce controversy waged in Eretz Yisrael, and to a degree in other countries, concerning the full use of Hebrew, instead of French and German, in the schools of the land. Mr. Jabotinsky also figured in the conflict of Hebrew versus Yiddish as the official language of the Yishuv. The triumph of Hebrew in these struggles had its salutary effects upon the entire Yishuv. Mr. Jabotinsky said:

Hebrew is historically bound with the destiny and consciousness of our people. Hebrew has the absolute priority over any other language or any other dialect... Hebrew has been associated with the noblest contributions our people has bequeathed to the general culture of mankind. (28)

In his Zionist political ideology, Mr. Jabotinsky incorporated the ~~Hebrew language as the mainstay~~ Hebrew language as the mainstay in the national upbuilding and in the historical continuity of the people on its own soil. "Hebrew," he said, "is the language of our past and must continue to be the language of our future."<sup>29</sup>



CHAPTER II. IMPETUS AND PURPOSES FOR ADULT HEBREW LANGUAGE CLASSES.

A. WAVE OF IMMIGRATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS.

In 1904 the Jewish population in Eretz Yisrael was estimated at fifty thousand persons. By the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917, the Jewish population had grown to approximately fifty-six thousand, an increase of six thousand persons in thirteen years.<sup>30</sup>

The Third Aliyah years of 1918-1924 witnessed a large wave of immigration from sixteen countries, and the population increased to ninety-three thousand (93,000).<sup>31</sup> This Aliyah included a high percentage of young persons whose idealism for a return to the Jewish homeland was firm, but whose knowledge of spoken Hebrew was inadequate. Joseph Azaryahu, historian and educator, feared "there was a danger that Hebrew would not develop as a common national tongue and that the newcomers with their babel of tongues would even undermine the very foundations of a Hebrew-speaking Yishuv which we succeeded in establishing."<sup>32</sup>

The Hebrew Teachers' Federation recognized the danger to the conquest of Hebrew in Eretz Yisrael by the large number of immigrants who spoke language other than Hebrew, and called an emergency conference in 1918. The matter was fully discussed and the following resolution was passed:

The Hebrew Teachers' Federation, Realizing the danger to the Hebrew language as a spoken instrument of communication in the land by the influx of new language, resolves to stand on guard, and demands to impose a measure of zeal for the language in all ranks of the people... (33)

The Culture Council of the Ha-pool Ha-tzair joined the Teachers' Federation in issuing a circular letter entitled "On Guard for Our Language" addressed to the American Jewish Brigade<sup>34</sup> on



its first arrival in Eretz Yisrael. This proclamation requested of every member of the Brigade to help in the preservation of the Hebrew language. The proclamation stated:

...Have loyalty to no other language...This is one of the national orders of the Jewish worker. This is one of the chief demands, for his sake and for the sake of others...When the words 'people' and 'land' are sounded, let these words ring out in their Hebrew form. (35)

B. CENTRABILITY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

Since the 1880's a large number of immigrants to Palestine favored Hebrew as the primary language in the land. It took, however, great sacrifice and dedication on the part of many groups, organizations and individuals to solidify the usage of Hebrew in the homeland. A major contribution in the cause was made, and is continuing to be made, by the Histadrut ha-ovdim ha-ivrim be-Eretz Yisrael, the Federation of Jewish Workers in Eretz Yisrael.

In its zealous efforts to Hebraize the Yishuv, the Ha-poel Ha-tzair labor contingent of the Histadrut was most articulate and active. The Ha-poel Ha-tzair incorporated in its platform the basic requirement of the teaching and speaking of Hebrew. At its meetings and seminars it advocated that Labor have one language loyalty, and the one language be Hebrew. The chief opposition to the language views of Ha-poel Ha-tzair came from another labor group, the Poale Zion, which sought to make Yiddish the national language in the homeland.<sup>36</sup>

The most viciferous and ardent defender of the Hebrew language in the labor movement was Berl Katznelson. His vitality of expression and his fervor in the cause of unity in the labor ranks



and unification on behalf of the Hebrew language sets him aside as the "philosopher-deer" of Eretz Yisrael. Relevant to the Poale Zion insistence upon making Yiddish the national language in Eretz Yisrael, Berl Katznelson said in one of his eloquent addresses:

...This question stirs within me a great emotional reaction and therefore there must be deeper feelings and considerations than the mere rationale of it.

When one considers the question of languages he must first think of the future of his people. I believe the Poale Zion movement cannot link the future of the Jewish people with Yiddish. This is a matter for the Zhitlovsky Culture League (37) and not for such an encompassing movement as ours...They cannot ignore the reality that Eretz Yisrael is bound up with the Hebrew language and that national renaissance is meaningless without its (38)

The centrality of the Hebrew language in the philosophy of the labor movement became a reality when, as early as 1919 at the first convention of the labor groups held in Petah Tikvah, the matter received primary consideration on the agenda. Berl Katznelson opened the convention by giving the delegates, many of whom came from different parts of the world, a picture of the situation in Eretz Yisrael in regard to the Hebrew language. He stated:

The Jewish worker in Eretz Yisrael can approach his co-worker in the Diaspora with three basic principles and purposes: Zionism and its fulfillment; Pioneering and its activity; Hebrew and its propagation...

...the Jewish worker can now proudly tell his Jewish compatriots of the rebirth of Hebrew and the fact that it is now a spoken and living tongue for the workers in Eretz Yisrael...This great national wonder is daily occurring and with it will it strengthen the social greatness of the Jewish worker in the homeland. (39)

Berl Katznelson saw in the complete revival of Hebrew the gradual eradication in the Yishuv of illiteracy in the great cultural contributions of the Jewish people. He pleaded for an uncompromising and zealous attitude to create an enlightened society "to break through the fences and obstacles, to destroy false beliefs,



and to put an end to illiteracy and complacency which have made appearances in our society."<sup>40</sup>

In the discussion which followed Katznelson's address at Petah Tikvah, he emphasized that his intent and views concerning Hebrew were directed to educating the masses and to accelerating the complete revival of the Hebrew language and culture. A far-reaching decision came when the convention voted to impose the ability to speak Hebrew as a qualification for a candidate to the Elected Assembly, the governing body of the Yishuv. This decision was widely publicized in the local press and through circulars.<sup>41</sup>

C. CONTRIBUTION BY THE FEDERATION OF HEBREW TEACHERS OF ERETZ YISRAEL IN BEHALF OF HEBREW IN THE HOMELAND.

At the very beginning of its organized existence, the Hebrew Teachers' Federation was pledged to restore Hebrew as the national language in Eretz Yisrael. In 1909, at the Berlin Conference, Dr. Ben Zion Mossinson reported the valiant efforts of the Hebrew teachers in disseminating the Hebrew language in Eretz Yisrael.<sup>42</sup>

In the "war of the languages" waged in Palestine in 1913 between Hebrew on the one hand and French and German on the other hand, the Federation of Hebrew Teachers emerged victorious in their struggle against the school authorities who refused to recognize Hebrew as the language of instruction. The teachers struck en masse and, as a result of the support and encouragement by parents, students and the labor groups, a significant step was achieved in Hebraizing the Yishuv.<sup>43</sup>

Writing in Ha-hinukh, professional periodical of the Teachers' Federation, Dr. M. Glickson, editor, stated:



The work of the Jewish teacher in our land is not only a profession. His purpose and challenge are of national dimensions. It is a labor of Hebraic rejuvenation for his people. (44)

The teachers were frequently joined by the cultural workers of the Histadrut ha-ovdim ha-ivrim be-Eretz Yisrael and the students of the teachers' training schools and the Gymnasias in spreading and disseminating the use of Hebrew in family circles and public gatherings. Dr. Glickson praised the dedicated efforts of these groups, who persisted in talking Hebrew at all times, thereby influencing their friends and neighbors. As these groups grew, they created an environment, a climate of Hebrew spirit and loyalty, in their social meetings and educational activities.<sup>45</sup>

Reporting on the activities of the Teachers' Federation, Mr. Moshe Braslavsky, historian, stated:

The life of the worker in our land is difficult and is filled with hardships and frustration. Yet he draws strength from the spirit and dedication of the young teachers who have chosen to accompany the Jewish worker to all places of his wanderings. Our zealous young teachers are prepared to suffer privation as do our workers--in the dilapidated and run-down room, in the open unfurnished tent or cabin alongside the road where the workers labor to build and repair roads at all hours of the day and night--in the sizzling sun and in the burning wind. You cannot judge the life of the worker without giving an account of their faithful followers--the teacher, the book and the newspaper. (46)

Teachers volunteered to teach and to organize adult language classes in cities, farm settlements and villages. They sensed the urgency of providing the new immigrants with the skills of Hebrew speaking and the tools of becoming identified with the homeland.<sup>47</sup>

D. THE IMPORTANCE OF HEBREW IN THE PROGRAM OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION IN ERETZ YISRAEL.

Dr. Joseph Lurie directed the educational work of the Zionist



Council. In his annual report of 1921 submitted to the Education Council, Dr. Lurie stressed the importance and the urgent need to vitalize the Hebrew language for every Jew in Eretz Yisrael. He called upon the leaders of the national movements to concern themselves with the setting up of a system of evening language classes for adults, and he appealed to world Jewry to realize its upbuilding obligations by assisting the Yishuv in its national efforts.<sup>48</sup>

On January 9, 1921, an urgent memorandum was submitted to the Zionist Delegation by the Department of Education of Eretz Yisrael. This memorandum urged that every adult who did not know Hebrew should be provided with opportunities to learn the language and to speak it in his daily life; that as soon as the oleh (immigrant) steps down upon the soil of his land, he should be directed in his cultural and educational future. The memorandum stressed that such programming would have political significance to the Yishuv and to the outside world, for the influence of a reborn Hebrew upon the Jewish people in the Diaspora would be great. These educational and cultural opportunities were to be made available to Halutzim (young pioneers) and watikin (older settlers), as well as to the olim (immigrants).<sup>49</sup>

Actually, the Department of Education of the Zionist Organization did not conduct its own evening language classes. It offered financial aid to existing classes, as will be explained in subsequent chapters. Nevertheless, its impact upon the conquest of Hebrew in the Yishuv was substantial, chiefly as a result of the influence and dedication of its director, Dr. Joseph Lurie.



E. THE YISHUV AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD HEBREW.

Soon after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917, there was an upsurge of immigration of Jewish pioneers from East European countries and from Yemen. The different cultural and educational backgrounds of these olim created a complicated problem with regard to Hebrew language usage in the Yishuv. People spoke Russian, Polish, Yiddish, French, German, Arabic and Ladino. The old Yishuv maintained its hadarim and yeshivot in which Hebrew as the language of instruction was either outlawed or sadly neglected. The danger that the Hebrew language would lose its vitality became real.

The situation called for concerted efforts to stem the tide. Mr. Meir Dizengoff, first Mayor of Tel Aviv, speaking at a mass meeting celebrating the Balfour Declaration, exhorted his audience to cling to the Hebrew language. He said:

...We must realize that for us here, and for the many thousands who will soon follow, the Hebrew language is the very first consideration in our upbuilding of the homeland. (50)

Professor Hugo Bergman, in an article entitled "Darkhei ha-doubtful himukh ha-amami" (Methods of Popular Education), was ~~passive~~ that the Hebrew language could unite such a heterogeneous people. He decried the situation of adult language and culture education in the land. He wrote:

...If it's true that the education of our children is still beset by many grave problems...the education of adults is in a worse situation...this problem has not yet stirred us nor has it aroused our serious consideration.

...The language and children's education are only the first step to the creation of a folk culture. The second step and the more decisive one is the education of the adults. What shall be the aims, the methods, the organization of this education?...The single lecture or the single language presentation is not an effective teaching method. We must embark



on a constructive plan. (51)

The Knesset Yisrael sensed the urgency of action on behalf of the Hebrew language. Dr. Nissan Tourof was appointed to study the problem and submit a report to the Assembly. In his report to the Provisional Committee, Dr. Tourof stated:

The Hebrew language is the possession of a minority. Hebrew is not taught in all the schools. Our organizations resort to Hebrew to a minimum. Bookkeeping and business administration are carried on in a foreign language. Signs and posters on stores, business establishments and professional offices are printed in many foreign languages. In the orthodox schools Yiddish is the only language of instruction. The theatre is devoid of Hebrew. The literature is Hebrew poverty stricken. (52)

The Provisional Committee showed deep concern about this grave situation and resolved to correct it by following these steps for improvement: 1) Expansion of the system of schools with ~~the~~ insistence upon the wider use of Hebrew; 2) Opening of evening classes for adults and youths for the teaching of the Hebrew language; 3) Publication of a daily Hebrew newspaper; 4) Translation into Hebrew of literature for youth and adults; 5) Reopening and maintaining of the Hebrew theatre; 6) The opening of folk cultural and recreational centres; and 7) The issuance of an urgent call to merchants and professionals to increase the usage of Hebrew in their business transactions and professional services, both on the oral and written levels.<sup>53</sup>

In the history of the revival of Hebrew as the national language in Eretz Yisrael, the period following the Balfour Declaration was significant, since official government recognition was given the language at that time.

After the occupation of Palestine in 1917, a temporary British Command of the Expeditionary Forces was set up in Cairo, Egypt.



General Edmund Allenby authorized the publication of a Hebrew weekly, "Ha-hadashot mei-ha-aretz ha-kedosha," (News from the Holy Land) x which was distributed in Palestine. In it, orders and instructions were included. In the preface to the first issue of the periodical, General Allenby addressed the Jewish community in Eretz Yisrael in Hebrew. Only four words in English were contained in the message—"God Save the King."<sup>54</sup>

However, a short time after the initial efforts to issue orders and communications in Hebrew, the language was side-tracked in the government offices, until it fell completely into disuse. The British officialdom, which did not know Hebrew, was apprehensive of difficulties and problems—economic, administrative and political—that could result from the use of Hebrew. This attitude on the part of the British Command, encouraged the Arab leaders to come out against the recognition of Hebrew as one of the official languages in the land.<sup>55</sup>

At the Peace Conference assembled in Paris in 1919, the Jewish representatives were given a hearing before the Council of Ten of the Conference in February. Menahem Ussishkin presented his views concerning the recognition of Hebrew as an official language in Eretz Yisrael. Speaking in Hebrew, he stated:

...Not for a moment in our long history have we forgotten our land, nor did we abandon our God, our language and our culture. We have kept our faith and maintained our vigilance over these treasures. We must not forfeit our rights to restore our treasures in the homeland...

Our language, in which I am speaking to you today, is the tongue of our prophets, our great leaders and kings. We have never forgotten this ancient and glorious tongue. This Hebrew language has been bound up to our national aspirations from the very inception of our national regeneration in Eretz Yisrael... (56)



The Zionist Organization submitted a memorandum to the Peace Conference dealing with the Hebrew language. The memorandum emphasized the indispensability of Hebrew to the Jewish people in Erets Yisrael and urged the Conference to resolve its stand and agree on the official recognition of the language in Palestine. The memorandum spelled out the usages of the language in the government: that it be used for all documents, notices, forms and announcements; that it be used on postage stamps, paper and coin money; and that it be used in legal proceedings and law courts.<sup>57</sup>

When Sir Herbert Samuel was appointed the first High Commissioner of Palestine in 1920, one of the complicated problems he faced was the official government recognition of Hebrew as one of the three languages in Palestine. In October, 1920, however, only three months after he assumed the office, Sir Herbert issued a communique declaring that Hebrew shall thereafter be used as one of the three official languages in Palestine.

Finally, in August, 1922, a clear expression was given by the Mandatory Power as to the official role of the Hebrew language in the land. In the Mandate for Palestine, Appendix B, given on the tenth day of August, 1922, at the Court of Buckingham Palace, it states in Part VIII, Section 82:

All ordinances, official notices and official forms of the Government and official notices of local authorities and municipalities in areas to be prescribed by order of the High Commissioner, shall be published in English, Arabic and Hebrew. The three languages may be used in debates and discussions in the Legislative Council and, subject to any regulations to be made from time to time, in the Government Offices and the Law Courts. (58)



In the middle 1920's, Hayim Nahman Bialik, the poet laureate of the Jewish people, came out forcefully for the rebirth of the Hebrew language in the secular, literary and spiritual life of the Yishuv. He disagreed with his colleagues who persisted in their notion that the revitalization of Hebrew could be accomplished through the media of the written language. Bialik insisted that the vitality of an ancient language restored to life's needs must have the ingredient of speech. According to him, daily Hebrew conversation was the leaven in the process. He wrote:

To put an end finally to all the pains of the language will not be possible unless there will be a complete rejuvenation of the language—a rebirth in speech and in writing. There is no other way... (59)

Speaking before the Trustees of the Language Society, Bialik pressed for clarification of the role of Hebrew in the national, social and political life of the Yishuv. He pointed out that two cardinal principles guided the leaders of the Shibat Zion movement: 1) the redemption of the land; and 2) the rebirth of the Hebrew language.

As for us, the Zionists of the East coming from Russia, the rebirth of the language in all its dimensions had priority over the redemption of the land...

I do not say it as a disciple of Ahad Haam, but on the basis of the fact that in actuality we arrived at the conception of the redemption of the land by way of the Hebrew language, and only by this way did we begin our political activity. (60)

Bialik was highly critical of the Jewish government, professional and social leadership in regard to their attitude and practice toward the Hebrew language. His lecture on "Zilsul ba-lashon ha-ivrit" (Disrespect for the Hebrew Language) accused even the Zionist leadership of giving the language a dual personality: at Zionist congresses, national and international meetings, Hebrew



received all kinds of praise and demonstrations; but at home in official government business (Post Office, Telegraph, Land Registry, etc.), in professional, commercial and social intercourse, Hebrew took second or third place.<sup>61</sup>

Bialik insisted upon the reconstitution of the Vaad ha-Lashon (Language Committee) as the official and authoritative body for the creation and supervision of correct usage of Hebrew in the land.

In his writings and lectures concerning the Hebrew language, however, Bialik made no mention of teaching Hebrew to new immigrants. This is strange, in light of the network of Hebrew language evening classes operating throughout the land in the middle and late 1920's, and the dedicated efforts by the Histadrut, the Federation of Hebrew Teachers, the Education Department of the Zionist Organization and the local authorities on behalf of Hebrew classes for adults.



CHAPTER III. IMPLEMENTATION OF EVENING HEBREW LANGUAGE CLASSES FOR ADULTS.

A. PURPOSES AND ORGANIZATION OF VAADAT HA-TARBUT OF AHDUT HA-AVODAH AND HA-POEL HA-TZAIR.

As the kvutzot, kibbutzim and moshavel ovdim developed in Eretz Yisrael, the education of the children assumed primary importance. "Our children," a labor report stated, "are first in consideration for our new way of life."<sup>62</sup> For them the adults set up schools beginning with the pre-kindergarten age. Hebrew was the language of instruction in all subjects. In the first years, limited attention was given to the adult members of these settlements in the intensive study of the Hebrew language. However, the leaders soon realized that neglecting the adults was defeating their aims.

Rachel Katznelson, representative of Ahdut ha-avodah to the National Executive of the Vaadat ha-tarbut, described the situation in her annual report to the First Convention of the Ahdut ha-avodah labor organization held in Petah Tikvah in 1917. She stated:

For many years we hoped to be able to revitalize the Hebrew language through our children who attended our schools. We believed that our children would somehow lead us to knowing the language. But experience has taught us that unless a concerted effort is made to offer direct language education to our adults, not only will the adults remain illiterate to the language but also that our children's education will be adversely affected.

We must not forget that only a part of our people have succeeded in making Hebrew their fixed and functional language. Thousands of children, educated in our schools, come home and must resort to their parents' language which is not Hebrew. Children sometimes find it impossible to communicate their needs and wants to their parents in the language of the parents, and the parents are helpless to understand their children, to guide them and to satisfy them...We cannot overlook this situation. It is imperative that we set up a special program to teach Hebrew to our adults. (63)

The creation of Culture Councils to concern themselves with



adult language education took place in many parts of the land. In 1915, a committee of workers met in Kinneret to organize the Culture Council of the Galilee. In 1916, the workers of Judah met at their sixth annual convention in Petah Tikva and elected a Culture Council. Included among the purposes of the Culture Council was the provision of a teacher and a book for every worker.

The process of organizing culture councils, with a budget and with teachers, was interrupted during the war years. Nevertheless, during the winter of 1916, six evening classes in Hebrew were operating at Kibbutz Kinneret. Classes met twice a week from seven to nine o'clock. In addition to the teaching of Hebrew, lessons in botany using Hebrew terminology, and lectures in Jewish history and Moledet were conducted in Hebrew on the Sabbath. In the winter of 1917, four teachers were appointed for male and female workers in Ben Shimon; two in Mikveh Yisrael; two in Karkur; and three in Gan Shmuel. The adult students came chiefly from Russia.

In the summer of 1918, the culture councils inaugurated the library and reading room projects for workers in Nahalat Yehuda, Ruhama, Beer Yaacob and Rehovot. In the same year, the Central Culture Council of the Ahdut Ha-avoda and the Ha-poel Ha-tzair reported that the teaching of Hebrew to adults had become as important in their cultural program as children's education, and that the method generally corresponded to that of teaching children to speak. Two hundred and thirteen students were enrolled and were taught by twelve teachers. Data was not available as to specific achievement.<sup>64</sup>

The Council report explained the problems confronted:



Not only are these classes composed of adults of all ages, but they come from different cultural and social backgrounds. Their rate of learning varies with their mental capacities. Among these students are Ashkenazim, Sephardim, Yemenites and Kurdish Jews--many of whom had no formal education in their youth in any language and thus can be considered illiterate. (65)

With the increase in immigration in 1919 and 1920, evening classes for adults were expanded. In the fall of 1920, the number of students enrolled reached 520. Sixteen teachers were engaged for the settlements in the Sharon Valley; the curriculum included Hebrew and nature study related to farming and meteorology. Classes were established in six locations and the hours of instruction were in the morning, afternoon or evening, depending on the free time of the student-workers. The total budget was 1482 lirot, of which 1000 lirot was contributed by the Education Department of the Zionist Organization.<sup>66</sup>

The Culture Council recognized the value of libraries and reading rooms in its program and directed its efforts to develop this educational project. By 1921, forty reading rooms containing four thousand books, Hebrew periodicals and newspapers were operative. The Council issued a call to aid this project, asserting that the "reading rooms and libraries were a source of inspiration, pride and education in our folk programming." In the same year, financial aid came from the Jewish workers in the United States through a special fund established there to assist in the program of evening language classes for new immigrants. This "People's Fund" pledged to ship books, teaching supplies and materials to the Culture Council in Eretz Yisrael.<sup>67</sup>

In 1922 an important activity was added to the curriculum of the evening classes. Weekly hikes and outings were scheduled with



the aim of acquainting the students with the "history and panoramic beauty of the Moledet, so that our people can get to love their land and feel a sense of belonging to it." The trips took them to Jerusalem and its environs, Shechem (Nablus), Har Tabor, Jericho, the Dead Sea, and the new settlements in the Emek.<sup>68</sup>

In the winter of 1923 there was a substantial increase in the number of adult workers studying Hebrew in evening classes under the auspices of the Culture Council. The preponderant number came from the urban enrollment. Of the 1451 students enrolled, 1235 attended classes in the main cities of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa. The remaining 216 students attended classes in the Moshavot and the agricultural settlements. The circulating library which supplied books to the network of reading rooms had accumulated 25,000 volumes. Books were sent to outlying locations in the Yishuv and to the road-building areas. A special Reading Hall was built in Tel Aviv to accomodate 800 readers. The work of distribution of the books and library supervision and guidance to readers was carried on by a group of young teachers and a corps of volunteers recruited from civic organizations and professional groups.<sup>69</sup>

In 1923 an educational survey was conducted by the Central Culture Council of the Histadrut. The purpose of this national survey was to ascertain the effectiveness of the evening Hebrew language classes for adults. Questionnaires were distributed to adult members of the Federation of Jewish workers in the cities, colonies, Kibbutzim, kvutzot and at other labor locations. Sixteen thousand six hundred and eight (16,608) questionnaires were distributed. Twelve thousand six hundred and eleven (12,611) returns were received, or 75.9% of the total questionnaires distributed. According to the



report, not all of the returns came from adults enrolled in "regularly scheduled evening classes."<sup>70</sup>

The questionnaires did not ask the countries of origin of the new immigrants, nor the dates of their arrival in the homeland. Recorded in the report were the responses to these two major questions: 1) Did you know Hebrew in the Diaspora--speaking, reading and writing?; and 2) Did you advance in the knowledge of Hebrew in the homeland--in speaking, reading and writing? The answers were tabulated with the following results:<sup>71</sup>

	<u>To Speak</u>	<u>To Read</u>	<u>To Write</u>
Know Hebrew in Diaspora	8622	9616	9050
Advanced in Homeland	12,611	12,219	11,627

In evaluating the results of the survey, the Central Culture Council expressed satisfaction with the program and stated that it reached large numbers of adults and that the improvements recorded will stimulate further expansion.

...We are convinced that our efforts in the last few years have benefited our students in obtaining the skills of the language, thereby enabling them to adjust better to life in the Homeland and through them to advance the broad aims of Eretz Yisrael...We are determined to forge ahead in this program. We will explore possibilities for widening the culture and educational opportunities. (72)

In 1924 there was a further increase in the enrollment in the evening classes to a total of 2048 students. In 1925 the enrollment reached its peak with 2646 students. In 1926 there was a drop in enrollment to a total of 1584. The Culture Council explained the 1926 drop by stating that the fall-off of "immigration was the chief factor and that future programs would be similarly affected by the rise and fall in immigration." The 1925 peak in enrollment accom-



panied the peak in immigration. Thirty-five thousand new immigrants arrived that year. In 1926 the immigration took an alarming drop to fourteen thousand. In 1927 only three thousand immigrants came, and an unprecedented low of two thousand was recorded for 1928.<sup>73</sup>

B. EVENING LANGUAGE CLASSES FOR ADULTS SPONSORED BY THE FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, THE MUNICIPALITIES, THE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION AND IMMIGRATION OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION, AND THE "FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE."

Generally, the Culture Councils of the Ahdut Ha-avodah and Ha-poel Ha-tzair labor groups cooperated with the municipal authorities in sponsoring the evening classes conducted in the urban communities. The Federation of Teachers assisted in these projects by stimulating such organization and frequently by offering their services without remuneration. Financial assistance and promotion was given by the Zionist Organization through its Education and Immigration Departments. Often, commercial and professional groups were solicited for funds to help maintain the evening classes.

Nevertheless, jurisdictional disagreements arose which tended to separate the forces and divide the community in the operation of evening language classes for the adult immigrants. The situation came to a head in 1921 when a meeting was called by all the interested parties to resolve the difficulties and establish a community sponsored system of evening classes.<sup>74</sup>

This meeting was convened in Tel Aviv on December 14, 1921. In attendance were the representatives of the Culture Councils of Ahdut Ha-avodah, Ha-poel Ha-tzair, the municipalities of Tel Aviv and Jaffa and the Teachers' Federation. The purpose was to coordinate the opening and administration of the evening classes in Jaffa and Tel Aviv.<sup>75</sup>



The proceedings of the meeting related that there was agreement on the urgency of organizing classes but not on the need of coordinating opening dates, method of financing or supervision. The Ahdut Ha-avodah representatives refused to surrender the autonomy of their classes and Ha-poel Ha-tzair insisted that it have the sole supervision of the classes under its jurisdiction.<sup>76</sup>

Upon the adjournment of the meeting the Teachers' Federation convened to appoint a Council for Evening Classes, whose purpose it was to open evening classes and to staff them with paid teachers and volunteer supervisors.

The Council report stated that the Teachers' Federation Council opened classes in the Herzliah Gymnasium and appointed Dr. J. Tzifroni and Dr. A. Rosenstein as supervisors. Classes were also opened in Bet He-halutz. One teacher was appointed to teach two hours daily. Sessions were continued until the Arab riots of 1921, at which time, because of the danger involved, the Bet He-halutz reception center for new immigrants could no longer be used for classes.

We realized that a transfer of location for our classes had to be made. We urged all students to attend classes at the Gymnasium, resulting in a large enrollment from among the new immigrants and the older residents of the Jaffa area. When the transfer was made, we found that instead of one class we had three; instead of twenty-one students we enrolled seventy-four students. (77)

The Council for Evening Classes continued to serve as organizer of the evening classes through the 1922 season. With the increase in immigration, there was an upsurge in the enrollment in the evening classes in Tel Aviv. A record new enrollment of three hundred students was registered. Seven classes were set up, four of which were beginners' classes. These classes met ten hours weekly.



The curriculum consisted of the Hebrew language, science, arithmetic and nature study. Dr. Tzifroni continued to serve as supervisor at no salary, and Mr. A. Ashushkin was appointed as principal at a salary. The budget was thirty-five lirot per month.<sup>78</sup>

In the same year, 1922, after two months of operation of the classes, the Departments of Education and Immigration of the Zionist Organization withdrew their monthly allotments of ten lirot each. Dr. Lurie gave no reason for the withdrawal of funds but stated that "we are aware of the fact that our support is inadequate and that at times it has to be withdrawn." He expressed the hope that other committees would continue to support this vital work.<sup>79</sup>

A group of young teachers volunteered to teach, but financial difficulties continued to plague the evening classes and the Council decided to go out into the community to solicit funds. It approached business and professional establishments as well as the municipalities of Tel Aviv and Jaffa. The following responded: Tel Aviv Municipality, 10 lirot monthly; Jaffa City Council, 3 lirot monthly; B'nai Brith Lodge, 12 lirot annually; Anglo-Palestine Bank Ltd., 12 lirot annually; Yakhin Resettlement Agency, 2 lirot annually; Ha-boneh Builders, 12 lirot annually; Katz Associates, 12 lirot annually; "Hirum" Physicians' Association, 3 lirot monthly; and others, individual one-time contributions, 5 lirot. An appeal was made to the Tel Aviv municipality to increase its annual allocation to three hundred lirot "so that it will be possible to provide every new immigrant settling in our area with the needed evening classes education."<sup>80</sup>

In 1921 the Teachers' Federation of Haifa joined the Culture Councils of Ahdut Ha-avodah and Ha-poel Ha-ta'air in sponsoring



evening classes. Committees were appointed to formulate the purposes and educational aims of the classes. They recommended the following: 1) Methodical work to be pursued in the teaching of the Hebrew language to new immigrants; 2) The opening of libraries and reading rooms in conjunction with and adjoining the classrooms; and 3) Special courses to be offered to those adults who did not have a basic knowledge of the language.

The enrollment of one hundred and fifty students was divided into four classes. The curriculum consisted of Hebrew, Jewish history and history of the Moledet. Lectures were given to qualified students in physics, chemistry and mechanics.<sup>81</sup>

In 1922, two additional classes for beginners were opened in Haifa. The course of study for the forty-five students enrolled included arithmetic in addition to Hebrew and Moledet.

In Rishon L'Zion evening classes were conducted for new immigrants and wives of the residents of the community. Beginners met five evenings a week, while the advanced classes met three times weekly. The instructors were local teachers, kindergarten teachers, and qualified young residents of the moshavah, including a newly-arrived immigrant who had settled in Rishon L'Zion.<sup>82</sup> Various culture groups cooperated in the work of the evening classes. There was a common curriculum for the beginners, intermediate and advanced students. Beginners' classes studied the language only. They began by developing the speaking skills, after which they learned the reading and the writing of Hebrew. The intermediate and advanced classes also studied the Bible and the history of the Yishuv. Sixty students were enrolled, of whom thirty were wives of residents.<sup>83</sup>



In Yavniel the local branch of Ha-poel Ha-tzair enlisted the cooperation of the residents and together they organized classes for forty-five students. Two volunteer teachers instructed the two classes which met five hours weekly.<sup>84</sup>

C. EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE ORGANIZATION AND THE TEACHING OF THE EVENING CLASSES.

On the ninth of Nissan, 1924, a nation-wide convention-seminar was convened in Tel Aviv to evaluate the program of adult language and moledet education offered to new immigrants and residents in Eretz Yisrael. The convention continued through the twelfth of Nissan. In attendance were representatives of the Central Council of Culture of the labor groups, local representatives from labor settlements and kibbutzim and representatives from the Federation of Teachers.<sup>85</sup>

The steering committee of the seminar issued a statement explaining the purpose and agenda of the seminar:

The program of evening classes for adults is already an established institution, though it is only a few years old. You find evening classes in every part of our land. In many places there are special teachers for the evening classes, who are devoted to their work. Nevertheless, we are still proceeding without methods and standards, and as a result of these conditions we are experiencing many serious difficulties, not only in methods and standards but also in curriculum, organization and direction.

Our seminar therefore has a special purpose. We are gathered to study together prevailing conditions and not to make resolutions or issue directives. We seek enlightenment through an exchange of experiences and ideas. It is a seminar at which we shall establish a possibility for mutual help by colleagues and comrades who are dedicated to the same cause and purpose. (86)

The agenda for the four-day seminar included eight topics for discussion. These were: 1) the first steps of language teaching; 2) the teaching of writing and composition; 3) the teaching of



grammar; 4) the teaching of Tanakh; 5) the teaching of the Homeland; 6) the teaching of the Labor Movement; 7) teacher education for evening classes; and 8) organization and administration of evening classes.

Mr. J. Ben Shmuel gave a verbatim account of the speakers' presentations and a clear explanation of the discussion which followed. At the conclusion of his report on the work of the Conference, Mr. Ben Shmuel gave his personal estimate of the proceedings and his views on the subjects discussed. His remarks show a real understanding of the problems faced by the Conference and reveal the "climate of opinion" prevailing there.

Mr. Y. Amir was the main speaker at the opening session of the Conference. He presented the topic "The First Steps of Language Teaching" and stated that the premise held by many teachers that "teaching adults is like teaching children" is false and is revealing of "poor educational psychology." "Adults," said Mr. Amir, "are not like children. Adults have a store of knowledge and experience behind them. True, such knowledge is not always forthcoming when teaching adults. It has to be aroused." The teacher must draw information from the adult and build his planned instruction upon this theory. The teacher must not proceed with "infantile content," not from the "easy to the difficult," but rather with content which will challenge the adult mind and his thought processes.

In regard to the techniques of teaching Hebrew to adults in the first stages, Mr. Amir recommended the siha (conversation-story) method. The teacher, guided by his students' environment, should select the topics for the sihot from everyday life situations, from



events taking place in the homeland, from the contacts his students have with the labor movement and from their personal domestic and work experiences. "It matters not," Mr. Amir stated, "if the students experience difficulty in expressing themselves in Hebrew." The teacher should not be upset, nor should he exhibit impatience with the student who is slow in absorbing the correct Hebrew idiom, for "given sufficient practice, the student will gradually gain the facility of expression in Hebrew."<sup>87</sup>

The second session of the Conference was devoted to the presentation of the subject "The Teaching of Writing and Composition." A spirited discussion followed the main presentation by Mr. Bar Levi. The speaker explained that when teaching writing to beginners, the "imitation approach" should be used. "I believe," Mr. Bar Levi stated, "that the collective technique whereby students copy from the board or take dictation or hand in uniform assignments is the most practical and best technique to employ in our evening language classes."

When preparing a composition as a class project, the students may seek assistance from the teacher, who should be generous in his suggestions. But not assignments should be made "requiring free-topic compositions from every individual student." Mr. Bar Levi was emphatic in his statement that "free compositions are a deterrent to learning good penmanship, correct spelling and exact expression in the language. We can promote the learning of Hebrew only when we insist upon exactness, preciseness and neatness."<sup>88</sup>

The discussion which followed elicited a divided reaction. The majority among the delegates agreed with Bar Levi's thesis and



recommendations dealing with the teaching of writing and composition. However, a minority of the delegates at the session disagreed with the speaker and rejected his technique of "collective" learning. These delegates maintained that a blanket conformity to a "fixed approach will stifle initiative and will prove exceedingly mechanical." The learners will not volunteer to speak in class or write on the blackboard their original work. They will sit back and wait for the teacher to write on the blackboard and then copy it in their books. The minority opinion stressed, rather, individual compositions by the students on subjects they chose freely from their personal experiences or from what they read or heard. Furthermore, they stated that the "evening classes should aim at bringing the individual to know himself, to encourage free initiative and independent thinking. Such a procedure and technique will compensate for the errors the students will commit in spelling or penmanship, since the more important aim is to teach the adults to express themselves in Hebrew."

Mr. Ben Shmuel's reactions to the presentation of the first two subjects was particularly enlightening. He stated that there is a fundamental error in the type of aims set up for evening language classes. He said:

Evening language classes for adults cannot possibly teach sufficient Hebrew to understand the literary works, not to speak fluently nor to write or read flawlessly. Actually, evening classes, and particularly ours as they are being conducted, cannot achieve the objectives the speakers and the discussants indicated. Our learners are exposed to education under very irregular and unstable conditions. Their attendance is sporadic and their concentration is limited. (89)

Nevertheless, Mr. Ben Shmuel stated that the program of adult language education is worthy of continued support and should figure



as a "must" program for new adult immigrants. However, there should be a realistic evaluation of the aims and expectations.

The evening classes can only succeed in giving an elementary and superficial knowledge of the language. The chief purpose of the classes is to open the eye of the learner, to attune his ear to the sounds of the Hebrew language, to facilitate his mouth to speak, even with mistakes, to give him the necessary freedom and desire to write, even with mistakes, and to induce him to read, even haltingly. (90)

Mr. Ben Shmuel was critical of the approach the teachers used with their students. He felt that they were too demanding and did not really try to understand their learners and their capacities. He suggested that evening classes should offer the learners a key to knowledge; they should give new immigrants the initial opportunity to enter into social and group life, to bring them into contact with the daily press, so that they should not become isolated from life in the homeland. He concluded his remarks with a plea to the organizers of the evening classes and to the teachers not to expect perfection in pronunciation, correct spelling, fine penmanship or exact sentence structure from all students. He urged that the students be permitted to read, speak and write Hebrew in any form. "The rest," he said, "the fulfillment of language knowledge expectations, will come in the course of time and through the personal ambitions and social pressures of life itself."

The session at which "The Teaching of Tanakh" was presented proceeded without controversial opinions. The discussants agreed that the teaching of Tanakh should be "purposeful and directed to bringing our learners close to the Homeland, to the history of the Jewish people, to the music of our Biblical poets and singers, to the spiritual and moral principles of our ancestors--but not as a



vehicle to instruct the rudiments of the language."<sup>91</sup>

It was not considered good educational practice to study the Tanakh in its entirety and according to its chronological order. The discussants felt that selections should be chosen for their meaningfulness and vitality, and if the curriculum drafters were convinced that certain books in the Tanakh were not appropriate for the evening classes they should feel free to eliminate them from the curriculum.

#### RESOLUTIONS OF THE TEACHERS' CONFERENCE

The last day of the Teachers' Conference was given to the drafting of resolutions in the curriculum area of language teaching:

1) speaking, writing and composition; 2) teaching of Tanakh; 3) teaching of the Labor Movement; and 4) the organizational structure of the evening language classes.<sup>92</sup> The Vaadat Ha-tarbut, the Culture Council of the Federation of Labor, was requested and directed to help implement the program by providing opportunities for teacher education, by preparing textual and educational material, and in the formulation of school administrative standards and procedures. The following resolutions were adopted:

##### 1. First Steps in Language Teaching

a. During the first weeks, the beginners' classes should concentrate chiefly on the siha approach. The chief aim of the conversation is to teach the new immigrants the language, so that they will be able to speak it and be equipped to obtain information about the land, conditions of life, the labor movement and the institutions and agencies of the Histadrut.

b. After the first few weeks, the teacher should begin to



introduce into the language study passages and quotations from the Tanakh and the Aggadah.

c. The textbook should be introduced after three months of study. Although this opinion was held by the majority, a group of teachers felt that the textbook (reading book) could be used beginning with the second month.

d. The Vasdat ha-tarbut was to provide the proper textbooks for the beginners' language classes.

2. Writing and Composition for Classes Higher than the Aleph Classes.

a. In the Bet classes, written classwork should be done as group assignments. Board work, compositions and topic-presentations should be the same for all students.

b. In the Gimel classes, the free or individual composition may be introduced. The group, or collective, assignment is suitable for reporting on class discussions or home assignments; the individual presentation is more suitable for reporting what the students have read, heard or experienced.

c. The teacher should not devote time in explaining at length errors in script or spelling. Such corrections should be made casually and indirectly, except where mistakes in spelling are typical and represent basic misunderstandings.

d. The teacher should make every effort to train his students to begin writing without vowels (without vocalisation).

3. The Teaching of Tanakh (Bible).

The Tanakh should be taught as a separate subject, following fixed and selected topics to be chosen in accordance with definite aims, that is, Conquest of the Land, the Rise of



Babylonia, the Wars in the Emek, Episodes and Events in the Life of Jews in the Period of the Bible, the Existence and Role of Prophecy, Great Personalities, Prayers of the Oppressed, the Songs of Jerusalem, and so forth.

The Vaadat ha-tarbut is to prepare the needed texts and selected subjects for the study of Tanakh in the evening classes.

4. The Workers' Movement.

a. The curriculum shall include the History of the Workers' Movement as a definite subject.

b. The Vaadat ha-tarbut is to publish pamphlets and bulletins concerning the workers' movement in the homeland, and furnish each teacher with a bibliography of books and periodicals.

c. The Vaadat ha-tarbut is to give special attention at its teacher-education institutes to the aims and methods of teaching the course of the Workers' Movement.

5. The Organization and Administration of the Evening Classes.

a. The evening classes are divided into two terms (mahzorin).

b. The first mahzor lasts one year. Its overall purpose is to teach the new immigrants to speak Hebrew, to read a newspaper and to write a letter.

c. The second mahzor is to admit only those workers who have acquired the fundamentals offered in the first mahzor. The curriculum in this mahzor is subject-oriented: Hebrew literature and language; Sociology; and Vocational Guidance. The knowledge of the language can be deepened as a result of learning these subjects.

d. The first mahzor is to be divided into two semesters, each lasting a complete winter or summer and each having a definite



course of study.

e. It is recommended that in the beginning classes the number of students should not exceed thirty. The students should be classified according to knowledge and background in Hebrew and general studies. Students should not be admitted to a particular class unless they are suitable to the level of knowledge and development prescribed for that class. Tests are to be administered to determine placement and promotion.

In the writer's opinion, this nation-wide Teachers' Conference was a significant event in the history of language and culture education for adults in the Yishuv. It advanced basic educational theories and practices which are being followed even in the current period.

The Hebrew language evening classes for adults began to receive public recognition during the increased immigration of the third Aliyah. Mr. M. Y. Polonsky, writing in Ha-hinukh magazine, presented a critical analysis of the aims, methods and problems of the program.<sup>93</sup> After visiting classes in the urban and rural communities, in the kibbutzim and at road construction locations, Mr. Polonsky concluded that the evening classes were filling a vital cultural need in the land. However, he pointed out numerous problems, among which were: lack of adequate classroom facilities; absence of a corps of full-time teachers; unstable enrollment and attendance; incorrect classification and gradation of students; absence of a standard curriculum; lack of suitable texts; and insufficient financial support. He recommended that the curriculum be broadened to include recreational programming for the younger students and that preliminary



orientation in the Hebrew language and culture be given to the prospective students prior to their coming to Eretz Yisrael; also, that all organizations and agencies in the Yishuv join in a common effort to improve the programming of the evening language classes for adults, not only in the financial aspect, but in content and scope, particularly in the higher classes.

D. ENROLLMENT AND PROMOTION OF THE EVENING LANGUAGE CLASSES FOR ADULTS.

The highest immigration into Palestine during the decade of the third and fourth aliyot (1919-1928) was recorded in the year 1925, when 34,396 immigrants entered the homeland. These clim came from eighteen lands and three continents. This same year marked the greatest advance in enrollment in the evening language classes for adults. The Culture Council of the Histadrut registered an enrollment of 2,646 students in the evening classes under its auspices.<sup>94</sup>

The enrollment in evening language classes, as submitted by the Culture Councils of the Ahdut ha-avoda and Ha-poel ha-tzair labor groups for the years 1920-1926, was as follows:<sup>95</sup>

<u>1920</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1922</u>	<u>1923</u>	<u>1924</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1926</u>
520	935	1451	1860	2048	2646	1584

In 1926 a period of depression was felt in the land. Unemployment was widespread and the building industries suffered a sharp decline. During this year, immigration dropped to 13,855. In 1927 a further drop in immigration was recorded, to a low of 3,034. In 1928 it shrunk to 2,178. Emigration began on a large scale. It was reported that in 1928 seventy-three hundred (7,300) persons left



Palestine.<sup>96</sup> In 1929 the riots staged by the Arabs, in which one hundred and fifty Jews were murdered and hundreds of defenseless Jews wounded, further aggravated the situation, especially since the British Mandatory Administration was hostile to the Yishuv and refused to condemn the Arabs for instigating and carrying out these massacres.

This situation of unrest and economic depression continued for several years. Enrollments in the adult evening language classes fluctuated between 1,000 and 2,300 students, depending chiefly upon the volume of immigration.<sup>97</sup>

The unsettled conditions resulted in the closing of many evening classes. Nevertheless, the Central Culture Council of the Histadrut exerted its influence over its affiliated groups to keep open the schools for adults. Mr. Yaacob Zondak<sup>bank</sup>, a member of this Council, urged his Party to intensify its efforts and keep the adult language classes open despite the drop in immigration. He said:

...This is no time to relax or surrender our life's purpose...We are commanded to do this since we are committed to help attain the objectives of Zionism. No other organized group in our land or in the Zionist world will care for, nor could care for, this need... (98)

In 1930 the Executive Committee of the Histadrut authorized the establishment of a Department of Language and Culture within its centralized operation, with the primary aim of activating the educational work among adults in the evening language classes. Mr. Zondak<sup>bank</sup> was appointed director. The Department began its operation with the meager budget of four lirot a month. This budget included the director's salary, office expenses, publication of teaching material, visits to schools, and other administrative costs.<sup>99</sup> The actual educational budget covering teachers' salaries, rentals, books,



and so forth, was borne by local authorities in the towns, villages and agricultural settlements. Often the local authorities expressed that they were unable to finance their share of the cost.<sup>100</sup>

In his 1931 annual report to the Histadrut Executive, Mr. Zondak<sup>bank</sup> stated:

Even if we wanted to introduce newer methods of teaching, better trained teachers--particularly in the area of adult language and culture education--more suitable teaching material, and to improve the organization and administration of our evening classes, we could not carry out these wants because of insufficient funds, which by necessity must come from the central organization. (101)

Mr. Zondak<sup>bank</sup> realized that only through centralized financing and control would it be practical to embark upon a nation-wide program of improvement and expansion of the evening language and culture classes. He called upon the Executive to recognize the necessity for such centralization and provide his department with the needed funds. He supported this position by stating that adult language education is a national need and thus must be met by national responsibility and authority.

It is noteworthy that as early as 1931 Mr. Zondak<sup>bank</sup> recognized this need for centralization in the financing and administration of language education for adults. In the two periods to follow we shall find other leading educators reiterating and advancing this same principle.

During the second half of 1932, there was a rise in immigration and with it came an increase in evening classes' enrollment. Among the 9,533 olim from East European countries (the large aliyah from Germany had not yet come in) were large numbers of adults who had escaped from economic, social and spiritual crises, tearing themselves or being torn from their roots and hoping to find a new way



of life in the homeland.<sup>102</sup>

Mr. Zondan<sup>back</sup> appealed to the Yishuv for greater understanding of the need for adult language and culture education and its adequate financing. Immigrant groups such as the Hitahdut Olei Germania, Polonia and Hungaria began to organize their memberships in order to promote enrollment and attendance at the evening classes in the cities of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa and in rural settlements. These immigrant groups solicited funds for this purpose and made them available to the organizers of the evening classes.

The Histadrut Executive through its Department of Language and Culture organized a speakers' and artists' bureau and sent representatives to visit culture meetings on local and regional levels. It reactivated the reading rooms and libraries by furnishing them with books and periodicals and volunteer librarians. Theatrical performances and concerts were brought to the olim through the courtesy of the Histadrut Executive. Newspapers and billboards promoted enrollment in the evening language classes by announcing their schedules and meeting places.<sup>103</sup>

With this promotional campaign the enrollment in the evening continued classes began to increase. By 1934 the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, the World Zionist Organization and the Vaad Leumi of Eretz Yisrael were beginning to show interest in the language education of adults. This interest eventually led to the establishment of the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi in 1935 (see Part II).



CHAPTER IV. SUMMARY.

The first third of the twentieth century witnessed the return of tens of thousands of Jews to the land of their forefathers. At first they came as pioneers in search of the fulfillment of their idealistic dreams of freedom and creativity; later they came as refugees in search of a haven from the discrimination and persecution in the lands of their birth. All were faced with the same problems of adjustment and integration to their new environment. They had to learn new skills in agriculture, building, road construction, city and town planning, maintenance and administration. They had to cultivate new habits in learning to live and work together with their neighbors and with their brethren who came from many lands and who spoke many languages. They had to unite in their zeal for a common purpose and common goals in the regeneration of a nation, under adverse conditions which were dictated by the mandatory government.

The teaching and learning of the Hebrew language in the evening classes, and informal opportunities offered in the reading rooms and culture centres, played a significant role in the process of adjustment of these olim. The love for the land and for the freedom to create and build a new life was equalled by the dedication to establish Hebrew as the only national language in the homeland. These pioneers believed sincerely that the Hebrew language was the one unifying and cohesive force in the integration of the newcomers and in their determination to build a new society.

"Ivri, daber Ivrit" -- "Hebrew, speak Hebrew" -- was the battle-cry of the founders of the new social order in Eretz Yisrael. At first this call was sounded by zealots and dedicated individuals,



notably Eliezer ben Yehuda, David Yellin, Berl Katznelson, Rachel Katznelson (now Mrs. Zalman Shazar), Martin Buber, Shmuel Yavnieli, Joseph Lurie, Yaacob Zonder<sup>bank</sup>, Hayim Nahman Bialik and others; later, by dedicated groups spearheaded by the Federation of Workers and the Federation of Teachers in Eretz Yisrael. These advocates of Hebrew as the one national language in Eretz Yisrael claimed that in the pursuit of their goals for regenerating the Jewish people the Hebrew language was the strongest weapon in their struggle to mould their future in their free land. They stated that the knowledge of Hebrew in speech, in reading and in writing, followed by the study of Hebrew literature, the Tanakh and the humanities would guarantee the new way of life to be established in Eretz Yisrael.

A network of evening language classes for adults was organized in the land and operated without interruption during this period. Numerous obstacles, especially the lack of funds, did not deter the pioneering spirit of the builders to press for their ultimate goal of Hebraizing the Yishuv. The ideological dissensions on the question of languages, touched off in 1913 by foreign influences (French and German) on the elementary and high school levels, and later in 1917-1919 by Yiddishist labor groups, resulted in arousing public opinion against any other folk national language except Hebrew. This affirmation strengthened the hands of the proponents of the teaching of Hebrew to adult immigrants.

The search for better techniques to instruct adults to learn to speak the language was begun early in this period. The quest for more suitable teaching content and more efficient evening classes' organization and administration was discernible even in the early years of



the period. It gained momentum in the years 1920-1926, primarily because of the motivation by the Histadrut culture workers and members of the Federation of Teachers.

Significant contributions in methodology and educational goals in language and culture education for adult immigrants and watikin were made during the first period, chiefly through the seminars and teachers' conferences sponsored by the Histadrut Culture Department.

Mr. Shmuel Yavnieli, who had helped to shape the program of teaching Hebrew to adults in the years before and after the establishment of the State of Israel, was interviewed by the author.<sup>104</sup> Two basic questions were raised in the interview. The first was: What were the causes that gave rise to the adult language and culture classes in Eretz Yisrael? The second question was: In the light of the experience with adult evening classes in the years 1915-1934, what fundamental ideas in programming and organization innovated then constituted the basis for further development and refinement in the later periods?

Mr. Yavnieli answered the first question by stating that the causes which gave rise to the adult evening classes were to be found in the ethic of labor and language espoused by the leaders of the labor groups, by spirited pioneer teachers, and by young nationalist students. Mr. Yavnieli observed: "It was not quiet preaching; it was zealous argumentation and deliberate plunging into dynamic action and the setting up of evening classes at every location in the land. We felt it had to be accomplished. We enlisted the active participation of all cultural workers in our councils, in the rural and urban settlements and communities, and the friends of the



Hebrew language in the Yishuv and abroad. We preached a gospel of social living and of the Hebrew language at our own meetings, outings, national and international conventions, and to the press. We succeeded in laying the ground-work of our national effort in the area of adult Hebrew language education, and from these beginnings later developments took place."

In answer to the second question, Mr. Yavnieli stated that among the greatest contributions in the programming of the adult language education was the insistence by the early educators to teach Hebrew conversation by the siha technique before teaching the skills of reading and writing. Second in importance in the programming was the inclusion of hikes or trips as a technique and experience in adapting the newcomers to the language, the spirit and the history of the homeland. Other contributions from the early years that came down to the current years in the field of adult language education were: the gradation of students according to their Hebrew background and not their age; the encouragement of free oral and written compositions as a technique of freeing the adult from his normal reservations to speak a foreign language; the teaching of suitable selections from the Tanakh, but not the Tanakh in its entirety; and the directive to teachers not to employ the Tanakh as content for language drill.

In regard to school or class organization, Mr. Yavnieli stated that the years 1915 to 1934, and particularly the period from 1920 to 1925, were years in which efforts were made to involve the local unit in meeting the greater part of the financial burden of maintaining the classes. In this area the results were dubious, since the



central body, the Executive Council of the Histadrut, was not always prepared to give adequate supplementary financial support for the wide-spread setting-up of evening classes. "The degree of our decentralization plagued us then, and even today, in 1960, when the government pays for the teachers, our local units frequently do not meet their obligations," said Mr. Yavnieli.

In summation, the nineteen-year period beginning in 1915 and ending in 1934 constituted the period for searching the ways, setting the goals and taking the initial steps toward the establishment of local and nation-wide classes for teaching the Hebrew language and culture to adults in Eretz Yisrael. Despite the numerous shortcomings and frustrations experienced by the organizers, the teachers and the adult learners—chiefly because the program was new and without precedence anywhere in the world—this period can nevertheless be considered a successful one. The accomplishments achieved became the foundation upon which were built the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi and, later, the Department of Language Teaching and Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture of the State of Israel.



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1. Isaac Verfel (collector), Kitvei ha-rav Yehuda Alkalai, The Rabbi Kook Institute Publishing, Jerusalem, 1944, 608 pp., p. 210.
2. Sir Isaiah Berlin, The Life and Opinions of Moses Hess, p. 44.
3. George Eliot, Daniel Deronda, p. 743.
4. Meyer Waxman, The Story of Hebrew, p. 23.
5. G. Kressel, Mi-leshon ha-kodesh la-leshon ha-hamonim, p. 112.
6. Ibid., p. 121.
7. Eliezer ben Yehuda, Ha-maboh ha-gadol, p. 4.
8. Ibid., p. 10.
9. Ibid., p. 28.
10. The use of Hebrew for conversational purposes was not entirely novel in the Holy Land. Hebrew had served as a vehicle of oral and written (Responsa) communication between Jews of different language backgrounds. The Sephardic Jews had a great affinity for the Hebrew. They were not burdened by the deliberate violent resistance to convert the holy language to a spoken, daily language as was the Ashkenazic community of Jerusalem, particularly, in the years of Eliezer ben Yehuda. Even today there is a religious group in Jerusalem, the Neture Karta, which forbids the use of Hebrew in daily intercourse. They speak Yiddish; Hebrew as a holy tongue is used by them in prayer, Torah reading and religious ceremonies.
11. Kressel, op. cit., p. 114.
12. Ha-antziklopedia ha-ibrith, Vol. IX, pp. 127-131.
13. Ibid., p. 130.
14. Joseph Rivlin, "David Yellin," Le-shonenu, Vol. 10, Issues 2-3, Tammuz, (Tarsat) 1929, Jerusalem, p. 239.
15. Joseph Klausner, Leket maamarim l'shem Eliezer ben Yehuda, p. 33.
16. Ibid., p. 36.
17. Eliezer ben Yehuda, Kol Kitbe Eliezer ben Yehuda, Vol. I, p. 43.
18. Reuben Brainin, "Kiyum ha-safah ha-ibrith," Haolam, Vol. I, No. 33, August 16, 1907, London, p. 408.

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\*These are abbreviated footnote references. Complete references appear in the Bibliography.







31. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
32. Joseph Azaryahu, "Toldot ha-hinukh be-eretz Yisrael", Vol. I, (1903-1928), p. 98.
33. Ibid., pp. 99-100.
34. In the latter years of the First World War, particularly after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, Vladimir Jabotinsky advocated the formation of a Jewish legion to fight under the British against Turkey for the purpose of freeing Palestine. He took part in the formation of the Zion Mule Corps made up of Jewish refugees from Palestine. Later, he was successful in inducing the British to raise three battalions (brigades), mainly of Russian Jews in England, the United States of America, and Canada, for service in Palestine.
35. Braslavsky, op. cit., p. 123.
36. Ibid., p. 124.
37. A group of Zionists in the Poale Zion movement, headed by the Yiddishist Chaim Zhitlovsky, believed that the national language in Eretz Yisrael should be Yiddish.
38. Berl Katznelson, Ktabim, Vol. I, p. 68.
39. \_\_\_\_\_, Ktabim, Vol. II, p. 124.
40. Ibid., p. 126.
41. Ibid., pp. 148, 150.
42. See page 9.
43. Under the pressure of the directorates of the Alliance and Hilfsverein High Schools, supported by protagonists of the French and German languages, a struggle took place which ended in these foreign tongues giving way to Hebrew as the language of instruction in these schools. This struggle was referred to as the War of Languages of 1913.
44. M. Glickson, "Avedat ha-hinukh ve-histadrut ha-tziyonit," Ha-hinukh, Vol. 4, (1921), p. 47.
45. \_\_\_\_\_, "Tziyonut ve-hinukh," Ha-hinukh, Vol. 11, (1927), p. 148.
46. Braslavsky, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 125.
47. Ibid., p. 126.
48. Joseph Lurie, Mahleket ha-hinukh be-erez yisrael, pp. 27-28.



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52. Moshe Attias, Knesset Yisrael, p. 8.
53. Ibid., p. 35.
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61. Ibid., p. 131.
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66. Ibid.                                      67. Ibid., p. 274.
68. "Mi-peulot histadrut ha-morim," Ha-hinukh, Vol. 5, 1921, p. 180.
69. G. Chanoch, op. cit., p. 274.
70. Ibid., p. 275.                      71. Ibid., p. 276.                      72. Ibid.
73. Braslavsky, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 122.
74. "Mi-peulot histadrut ha-morim," Ha-hinukh, Vol. 5, 1921, p. 181.
75. Ibid., p. 182.                      76. Ibid.



77. "Mi-peulot histadrut ha-morim," Ha-hinukh, Vol. 6, 1922, p. 265.
78. Ibid., pp. 266-267.
79. Lurie, op. cit., p. 27.
80. "Mi-peulot histadrut ha-morim," Ha-hinukh, Vol. 6, 1922, p. 268.
81. "Mi-peulot histadrut ha-morim," Ha-hinukh, Vol. 5, 1921, p. 181.
82. Ibid.                      83. Ibid.                      84. Ibid., p. 182.
85. J. ben Shmuel, "Pegishat ha-morim be-sheiurei ha-erev shel vaadat ha-tarbut," Ha-hinukh, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1924, pp. 40-43.
86. Ibid., p. 40.                      87. Ibid., pp. 40-41.
88. Ibid., p. 41.
89. Ibid., p. 42. Mr. Ben Shmuel's evaluation was realistic. Even under the conditions of today's intensive ulpanim of thirty hours per week (as compared with these early evening classes of four to six hours per week), the students do not learn to "speak fluently," to read and write flawlessly, and to understand literary works independently.
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97. Yaakov Zondak, <sup>bank</sup>Bi-ntivei ha-tarbut, p. 193.
98. Ibid., p. 47.                      99. Ibid., p. 112.
100. A. Levinson (ed.), Orot-kovetz le-shelot ha-tarbut, p. 110.
101. Zondak, <sup>bank</sup>op. cit., p. 113.
102. Levinson, op. cit., p. 106.



103. Zond<sup>bank</sup>, op. cit., p. 185.
104. Statement by Shmuel Yavnieli, personal interview held on January 6, 1960. Mr. Yavnieli came to Palestine during the Second Aliyah. Together with the Ahdut Ha-avodah labor group, he fought for the spread of the Hebrew language in Eretz Yisrael. He was the editor of the first textbook, Messila, published in 1921, for the teaching of Hebrew and the history of the homeland to adults. Mr. Yavnieli has been a member of the executive of the Centre for Culture of the Histadrut. In 1951 he was appointed Director of the Department of Language Teaching in the Ministry of Education and Culture. Since 1956 he has lived in semi-retirement, but his articles in the daily press on the dissemination of the Hebrew language are still attracting wide attention. He has been a champion for greater government responsibility and centralization in the teaching of Hebrew to olim and watikim.



PART TWO

ADULT EVENING LANGUAGE CLASSES AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN THE YEARS  
1935-1948



PART II. ADULT EVENING LANGUAGE CLASSES AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN  
THE YEARS 1935-1948

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Chapter I.

IMPETUS AND NEED FOR EXPANDING SYSTEM

From 1932 to 1936 inclusive, immigration into Eretz Yisrael proceeded at an increasing rate. In 1932, 9,533 persons entered Palestine. When the Nazi terror became effective, thousands of Jews fled Germany and Austria and before the restrictive immigration laws were imposed by the British Mandatory Administration approximately 174,000 Jews entered the homeland. The peak year was 1935 when 61,854 were permitted to settle in Eretz Yisrael.<sup>1</sup>

Apprehension was again felt by the Yishuv that with the coming of thousands to the shores of Palestine the fate of the Hebrew language might suffer serious setbacks. Dr. Ben Zion Mossinson, Director of the Education Department in the Knesset Yisrael, called upon the entire Yishuv to "hold the line" and avert a possible catastrophe. He pointed out that, although a number of municipalities, labor groups, the General Zionists, the Hitahdut Olei Germania and other groups were conducting language classes for adult immigrants, the scope of this activity was limited and insufficient to meet the existing pressing needs. Dr. Mossinson declared that the problem was no longer an institutional or organizational one. It had become an urgent national problem which could be met only by a deliberate national effort.<sup>2</sup>

At the Fourth Convention of the Histadrut held in Tel Aviv on the 24th of Tevet, 1934, Mr. Berl Katznelson urged that the Workers' Federation cease being satisfied with its good intentions and lofty ideals regarding the rebirth of the Hebrew language and its acquisition by the masses, but that it take immediate steps to renew the activities



of the Culture Council as a central program of the Histadrut. He demanded of the Convention that teachers for adult language and culture education be recruited, that in every Workers' Council there be appointed a separate secretary for cultural activities, and that an adequate budget be provided to finance the cultural and educational activities.<sup>3</sup>

Yaacob Zondak<sup>bark</sup>, in his essay entitled "The Cultural Problem of the New Aliyah," cautioned the Histadrut leadership that the economic and technical difficulties associated with the new immigration were likely to distract them from what should be their greatest concern--that of alerting the entire Yishuv to the vital need of teaching the Hebrew language and culture to the olim.<sup>4</sup>

In April, 1935, the Executive of the Histadrut voted to reorganize the Culture Councils by establishing a central office, Ha-merkaz la-tarbut. To help in financing its activities, a voluntary tax of one mil per worker for each working day was levied. (In 1935, one mil was equivalent to  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent.) The revenue from this "mil for culture" tax was applied toward the central operation of the language and culture activity, which included the subsidizing of evening classes, conducting seminars and lectures, and providing teaching aids and materials. According to Mr. Zondak<sup>bark</sup>, the response was "very satisfactory." But even more significant was the general approval by almost 200,000 members of the labor movement of the purposes and goals of the mil la-tarbut campaign.<sup>5</sup>



Chapter II.

THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE OF THE VAAD LEUMI

The problem of setting up a unified national program to teach the Hebrew language and homeland culture to the new immigrants became urgent in the Yishuv, and action was taken by the Vaad Leumi.

The question was presented at a meeting of the Executive of the Vaad Leumi on November 16, 1935. Mr. Joseph Shprinzak presented the problem with all its ramifications and concluded that since the problem was nationwide, the solution must also be nationwide and should be handled by the only nationally constituted body, the Vaad Leumi. Mr. Shprinzak's recommendation was to establish a separate department in the Vaad Leumi to centralize the administration of all educational activities for adult language teaching and to authorize it to expend the monies allocated to it. The recommendation was accepted and a special committee was appointed to work out the purposes and the administrative details of the program. The committee included Rabbi M. Ostrovsky, A. Almaliach, Dr. A. Katznelson and Joseph Shprinzak, chairman.

Within a period of two weeks the committee presented a plan to the executive body of the Vaad Leumi. The plan was approved. At a full session of the Vaad Leumi held on February 16, 1936, the plan was again presented by Mr. Shprinzak and Dr. Katznelson. The delegate body approved the establishment of the Department of Culture and guaranteed financial participation by the Zionist Organization.<sup>6</sup>

The following resolution was subsequently approved by the Vaad Leumi to establish a Department of Culture:



1. The Vaad Leumi will set up a department whose main purpose it shall be to teach the Hebrew language to new immigrants and to the masses in the cities and towns.
2. The Department will be concerned first and foremost with the opening of evening classes for the teaching of the Hebrew language at every place which is in need of it, with the cooperation and financial assistance of local councils, organizations, and workers' federations. The Department will assign the course of study and will supervise the teaching. The Department will publicize the values and needs for Hebrew teaching in the entire land and will provide communities with speakers, lecturers, theater presentations, radio time and programming, and so forth.
3. The sources of income for the operation of the Department services will consist of financial participation by national and local organizations, and by special funds and allocations granted it. (7)

The Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi was opened in March, 1936. The Jewish Agency assisted in its financing. Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel (formerly Judah Kaufman, recipient of a Ph.D. degree from Dropsie College in 1919) was appointed Director of the new Department and Mr. Nahum Levin became its National Supervisor.<sup>8</sup>

In an interview with the writer<sup>9</sup>, Mr. Levin explained that the first objective of the Department was to expand the network of evening classes and to exert all efforts to enroll every new immigrant in a suitable class. The second objective was to unify all existing classes through a central supervisory service, keeping in mind the various approaches in content, textual material and methodology of the three spiritual and ideological groupings. The third objective was to activate the national organizations which initially set up the classes and through whose support these classes continued to function. The fourth and most vital purpose of the Department was to recruit and train large numbers of new teachers who could teach adults the



Hebrew language and culture and the homeland's folklore.

Immediately after its official opening, a plan for the involvement and financial participation of the various organizations was launched by the Department. The Annual Report of the Department recorded that it turned to the local and national agencies, to the Zionist Executive Committee, and to the Zionist Congress<sup>10</sup>, asking them for their support and financial assistance. The Department projected an annual budget of 50,000 lirot, half of which was to be raised by the Yishuv. It requested that the national organizations allocate one lira for every immigrant. Of local funds, organizations and agencies, the Department requested one-fiftieth of their income. The Department explained that, given this support, it would be in a position to admit all new immigrants to evening language classes immediately after their disembarkment on the shores of Eretz Yisrael.<sup>11</sup>

The report stated further that the grants requested of the local and national agencies were not forthcoming. The reasons given for this lack of support were the uncertain conditions of the time -- the Arab riots of 1936 and the land and immigration restrictions imposed by the Mandatory Government.<sup>12</sup> A skeleton budget was eked out.

The Twentieth World Zionist Congress, meeting in Zurich in August, 1937, took up the question of Hebrew language teaching to new immigrants arriving in Eretz Yisrael and resolved to strengthen the activities of the Vaad Leumi's Department of Culture by giving it greater national significance and by making provision for financial aid. The following resolution won unanimous approval:

The Twentieth Zionist Congress sees the urgent need to again announce at this time, following the period of the mass



immigration in the last years, that it places responsibility upon the Zionist Organization and its constituent bodies to lend support to, and show concern for the full cultural character of the Yishuv by offering opportunities to the new immigrants coming from all lands, to learn the Hebrew language and its culture.

...that this total activity is to be centralized in the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi in Eretz Yisrael. This Department is to engage in disseminating the language, in distributing literature and encouraging its study, and in caring for the promotion of the fine arts.

...that the Department shall organize evening classes for adults in the cities, in the towns, and in agricultural and workers' settlements. In addition, the Department is to augment the cultural activity among youth not attending school, and offer foundation education to the illiterates among the Jews from Middle East and Oriental countries. In short, it is the Department's responsibility to be concerned with the cultural and spiritual character of the entire Yishuv.

The Department shall conduct its activities with due regard for the cultural autonomy of the three streams (the General, the Orthodox and the Labor) recognized as independent entities by the Zionist Organization in the area of cultural programming.

The Congress is thus directing the Zionist Administration to support, maintain and help in the development of this Department.



Chapter III.

ADULT EVENING CLASSES IN THE YEARS 1935-1939

When the Department of Culture was established, a survey was made to determine the scope of the existing classes. Mr. Moshe Attias, Secretary of the Vaad Leumi, reported that formal evening classes were operating in nine centers with an enrollment of 1170 adult students who were taught by 28 teachers in 89 class units.<sup>14</sup> Reacting to these figures, an editorial in Tarbutenu be-artzenu pointed out that such an enrollment was discouraging, especially at a time when a hundred thousand persons should be studying. It placed the blame for this situation on inadequate public financial support.<sup>15</sup>

Another factor was the apparent indifference on the part of the new immigrants toward the study of the Hebrew language. Dr. Ibn Shmuel directed a special appeal to them to enroll in the evening classes.<sup>16</sup> This appeal was made through the national organizations and the immigrant associations, particularly to the Hitahdut Olei Germania. The latter group had already been singled out for praise by Mr. Yaacob Zondak<sup>17</sup> and by the Zionist weekly Haolam<sup>18</sup> for the creditable work it had been doing in the area of language and culture teaching, for the quality of its leadership and for the activities sponsored by that leadership which indicated unusual willingness and potentialities to adapt to life in the land and to study the language.

An added incentive for adults to begin the study of Hebrew was given by the psychologist, Dr. Moshe Brill. Writing on "Adult Learning" in the Ha-hinukh quarterly<sup>19</sup>, Dr. Brill quoted E. L. Thorndike's statement that, in general, everyone should try to enrich his knowledge under the age of forty-five. He pointed out that actually every



adult up to the age of forty-five is capable of learning in his adulthood as in his childhood if he possesses the native intelligence and the motivation. Only on rare occasions can failure be attributed to age.

Dr. Brill gave the following causes for failure to learn:

1. Absence of learning ability, due to native intelligence. If a person was unsuccessful to learn as a child because of this factor, he will not succeed to learn as an adult.
2. Absence of sufficient interest and motivation toward such learning, and consequently the effort is not there and the learning process lacks ambition and attention.
3. Absence of proper teaching techniques, method and purpose.
4. Absence of flexibility. The old habits and notions stand in the way of acquiring new habits and notions, particularly in regard to changes in language script, sentence structure, idiomatic usage, and so forth.

As to the question, why adults or elderly persons are not inclined to learn, Dr. Brill advanced these basic reasons:

1. In many instances the "age reason" is an excuse and not a factor. The adult is not inclined to go out of his way, to really make an attempt at it, to give of his time and energy to matters about which he has doubt and skepticism as to their benefit and advantage.
2. The adult is generally much occupied with matters and problems demanding of him concrete results, such as seeking to maintain himself and his family with the basic requirements of a livelihood, or seeking to improve his status in society. Educational improvement in itself will not help in this direction, in most cases.
3. The majority of adults cling to the unfounded notion prevalent



among the masses that a grown person is not capable of learning, particularly a new language. Dr. Brill quoted in this connection, in the original English, the common adage clung to even in Eretz Yisrael, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks." This was undoubtedly one of the factors in the resistance of adult immigrants to study and to learn the Hebrew language.

Dr. Brill's article made an impact upon the new immigrants, especially those persons with a sound literate background from the lands of their origin. The essence of his statement was communicated to them in their own languages. To many the learning of Hebrew became a challenge. The result was that hundreds of the new immigrants sought admission to evening classes in the three major cities and in the outlying settlements.<sup>20</sup> Proof of this came in a report by the Department of Culture:<sup>21</sup>

In the last week of Tishri we reopened the evening classes under the auspices of the Department. Many new classes were opened in Jerusalem and Haifa. In Tel Aviv, the network of evening classes remained under the auspices of the Municipality, of the Histadrut, and the Associations of the New Immigrants, chiefly the Hitahdut Olei Germania, although promotion and publicity and supervision were delegated to us. We recruited and appointed teachers, and made arrangements for obtaining regular meeting places for the classes, either rented or free from cost.

The unavailability of rent-free classrooms became a serious problem. Private schools hesitated to let the Department use their facilities without charge. It became necessary for Dr. J. Lurie, Secretary of the Department of Culture of the Knesset Yisrael, and for Mr. Nahum Levin to make personal appeals, through correspondence, to principals of high schools in the major cities, explaining that the situation was one of "dire financial need" and that "if we cannot



free ourselves of a rental fee...we shall be forced to abandon the entire project of the evening classes." The Tel Aviv Municipality responded to this appeal by placing at the disposal of the Department of Culture all the municipal public schools. The Reali School in Haifa also made available to the Culture Council of the Haifa Workers' Federation a few rooms to be used for evening classes for adults.<sup>22</sup>

One of the major tasks undertaken by the Department of Culture was the unification of all evening classes in the country through central supervision and teacher placement. In order to unify the system it was necessary to have the different groups which sponsored evening classes agree to cooperate and accept central supervision and teacher placement. Meetings were scheduled on the local city and town levels to explain the benefits that would accrue from centralized operation in the areas of supervision, teacher recruitment, teacher education, and programming recommendations. In the main, this program of interpretation was carried out by Mr. Nahum Levin, National Supervisor of the Department of Culture, who travelled throughout the land and met with the local culture councils appointed to handle the programs of the evening classes.

A log of Mr. Levin's activities during the 1936-37 school year reveals that he visited regularly all evening classes in Jerusalem, which were conducted by the Histadrut, Hapoel Hamizrahi, the Federation of Young Women and the Police Department; in Tel Aviv, he visited evening classes conducted by the Municipality at the Tel Nordan, Ahad Haam and Goula schools; he visited evening classes in Herzlia, Gedera, Hedera, Raanana, Petah Tikva, Kfar Saba, Rishon L'Zion, Netanya, Pardes Hana and Binyamina. In Tiberias and in the



Southern Sharon District, Mr. Levin succeeded in organizing central culture councils, engaging teachers, and setting up evening classes for youth and adults, including study groups in Tanakh, Hebrew literature and Homeland. Dr. Ibn Shmuel and Mr. Avraham Shlonski, the noted author and lecturer, delivered talks in these communities. The promotion and interpretation tasks on behalf of the dissemination of Hebrew language instruction to all immigrants were facilitated by the Hebrew Radio Hour, the Ohel Shem Choir, the Oneg Shabbat programs, the Drama Ulpan and the Division of Homeland Study.<sup>23</sup>

Mr. Levin's log also touched upon the organizational set-up of the evening classes. He stated that the network of classes was both centralized and decentralized. It was centralized as far as supervision, teacher placement and certification, teacher education and Hebrew language promotion were concerned; it was decentralized as far as the operational costs of the evening classes were concerned. Each local community raised its own budget.

Although the immigration in 1936 and 1937 was smaller than in preceding years, the registration of students kept pace with former enrollments, especially in the colonies and workers' settlements. In the three major cities, the size and number of beginners' classes were reduced, but the number of intermediate and advanced classes rose as compared with such classes in prior years because of the fact that students in former beginners' classes advanced to higher ones. In October, 1937, the total enrollment throughout the land was 3,176 students, taught by 59 teachers in 158 class units.<sup>24</sup> These figures obviously did not represent the real need, for requests kept



coming in to the local culture councils and the central office of the Department in Jerusalem to organize more classes in the same communities or in new locations; but, "to our deep regret we could not meet this appeal. We answered the requests by expressing the fact that we are experiencing difficulty in maintaining the existing classes, let alone to organize new ones."<sup>25</sup>

TABLE I. EVENING CLASSES IN ERETZ YISRAEL, OCTOBER, 1937.

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>SPONSOR</u>	<u>NO. OF STUDENTS</u>
Tel Aviv	Municipality (9 meeting places)	789
Tel Aviv	Federation of General Workers	442
Tel Aviv	WIZO	90
Jerusalem	Federation of General Workers	181
Jerusalem	Hapoel Hamisrahi	33
Jerusalem	Federation of Young Women	104
Haifa	Hitahdut Olei Germania	100
Haifa	Federation of General Workers	no figures given
Haifa	Hapoel Hamisrahi	no figures given
Neve Yaakov	Township	18
B'nai Brak	Federation of General Workers	51
Gan Yavneh	Local Council	34
Kfar Yedidiya	Hitahdut Olei Germania	28
Rehovot	Local Township Council	34
Rehovot	Federation of General Workers	no figures given
Rehovot	Hitahdut Olei Germania	32
Hadera	Culture Committee of Township	100
Ramatayim		
(and environs)	Culture Committee of Township	61
Ramat Hashavim	Hitahdut Olei Germania	36
Gan Shimon	Local Council	54
Herslia	Culture Committee of Township	100
Ramat Gan	Culture Committee of Township	52
Petah Tikva	Culture Committee of Township	88
Petah Tikva	Hitahdut Olei Germania	69
Netanya	Township	71
Raanana	Township	45
Gedera	Local Council	50
Rishon L'Zion	Local Council	120
Kfar Saba	Local Council	60
Pardes Hana	Local Council	50
Binyamina	Local Council	50
Bin Eron	Local Council	30
Nahariya	Hitahdut Olei Germania	90
Tiberias	Culture Council of Township	115
TOTAL		3,176



By April, 1938, the lack of funds in the Department of Culture and in the local culture councils considerably hampered the operation of the evening classes. Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel wrote in his report to the Vaad Leumi:

Our program of evening classes has been seriously affected by the financial depression that is plaguing our land and directly our national agencies. The main support of our program has been the annual allocation of 1000 lirot given us by the Department of Immigration of the Hithadut Olei Germania in the Jewish Agency... We have been notified that this allocation will be reduced to 400 lirot this operating year.

The more vexing notification submitted to our Culture Department is that next year we may not receive any allocation, and since there are no prospects of obtaining aid from other sources, we are faced with a real crisis. (26)

An appeal for support was made to several national organizations and to the Jewish Agency to utilize, in this emergency, funds earmarked for related activities such as immigration and settlement, but the request was turned down.

Dr. Ibn Shmuel, nevertheless, continued to urge the teachers and the local culture councils to maintain the operation of the evening classes; "Our responsibility," he said, "must remain to watch over the spirit of our nation, through courage, zeal and conviction... Let not even one session of our evening classes be closed... Let us not abandon even one immigrant... Let us keep encouraging the masses day and night—for them alone was our generation preserved... We must redeem the remnants of our people."<sup>27</sup>

Teachers responding to the call to maintain classes submitted reports to the Department that showed progress and enthusiasm.

Mr. Yossifon, teacher of evening classes at Rishon L'Zion, wrote that his students had acquired "great skill" in conversing in Hebrew, and that they had agreed to convene bimonthly, on Saturday afternoons,



for discussions and lectures in Hebrew on topics affecting their studies and the welfare of the classes.<sup>28</sup> Mr. Y. Kalmoni, adult teacher at Kiryat Yosef, Shunat Borokhov and Ramat Gan, reported that his classes were well attended and that the progress was "highly satisfactory" and the students enthusiastic. "We are certain," he wrote, "that our classes will continue to operate. We shall find the means."<sup>29</sup>

Although many teachers gave of their time and energy to continue teaching in the evening classes, at no salary, the depletion of available funds resulted in a gradual closing down of classes. At a hearing before the Jewish Agency Department of German Immigration in July, 1938, Mr. Nahum Levin stated:

...One can accuse the Yishuv, since it places the cultural advancement of its inhabitants as the least and last responsibility...It can be a certainty that if the Hebrew language, for whose conquest we have labored for many years, is weakened, there is the prospect of the Homeland dividing itself into many ghettos -- linguistically, culturally, and ultimately, spiritually and physically. (30)

Again the request for funds was refused.

In August of 1938, Mr. Levin submitted a progress report to the Department of Culture in which he described the seriousness of the situation. "Nevertheless," he said, "our teachers continued to teach. Together with them, we are still hoping for a change of policy or a possible additional financial source for the Jewish Agency...for the alternative is desperation."<sup>31</sup>

Soon after the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi was established in March, 1936, Dr. Ibn Shmuel and Mr. Levin initiated discussions with Mr. Berl Katznelson and Mr. Yaacob Zondar<sup>bank</sup> of the Hista-



drut Executive Committee to set up the program of evening language classes as a national undertaking. According to the agreement reached, the culture councils of the Histadrut were to function under the aegis of the Department of Culture. The one exception was the system of evening classes conducted in the city of Tel Aviv. Here, the Histadrut and the municipal authorities each separately continued to operate their own evening classes. The Department of Culture served as an advisory agency.

The Histadrut cooperated with the Department of Culture in organizing new classes in the smaller communities, in the workers' settlements, in the kibbutzim and in the larger urban communities. Mr. Levin wrote in his report of August, 1938, that "the backbone of our entire project is the existing network of evening classes initially founded and operated by the Culture Centre of the General Federation of Workers."<sup>32</sup>

After a period of eighteen months of joint operation, Mr. Zondan<sup>bank</sup> reported that "although extraordinary efforts were made by the Department of Culture to unify the evening classes and to provide general supervision, the results were not in the dimensions that had been hoped for, to meet the pressing needs. A large percentage of new immigrants, lacking the ability to converse in Hebrew, were still outside the system of evening classes. Mr. Zondan<sup>bank</sup> observed that the difficulty lay in the lack of adequate funds and that the national agencies, including the Federation of Workers, were not "mindful of the great needs." He explained that, because of the lack of funds, it was virtually impossible to recruit competent full-time teachers; and that the few full-time teachers who were employed had demonstrated



that greater interest, greater enrollments and greater achievements were possible.

In regard to the curriculum in the Histadrut-sponsored evening classes, Mr. Zondak<sup>bank</sup> stated that while the purpose of the classes was uniform throughout the system, the course of study, method and content were not standardized. This was due to the complex composition of the classes--the cultural and educational levels of the students coming from varied backgrounds, with different habits of thinking and learning. The textual material included selected chapters in the Tanakh, Hebrew literature anthologies and the newspaper, Davar La-oleh. "The teacher and the students," said Mr. Zondak<sup>bank</sup>, "create the method and point to the suitable textual material."

As an aid to stimulating interest, socials for the students were introduced. These gatherings were held in the workers' settlement houses. The programs consisted of lectures, concerts, dramatic presentations and art exhibits. Politics, social and economic problems, and homeland current affairs were discussed. The lectures were often accompanied by visual aids such as still pictures, slides, blackboard illustrations and recordings. Mr. Zondak<sup>bank</sup> commented that these undertakings had proved to be an important means of attracting students to attend classes, and had served as a good interpretive technique on behalf of the study of the Hebrew language and homeland culture.<sup>33</sup>



Chapter IV.

SEMINARS FOR ADULT TEACHER EDUCATION

A. The 1936 Summer Seminar for Teachers.<sup>34</sup>

A major purpose in the establishment of the Department of Culture by the Vaad Leumi was the recruitment and training of teachers for adult language education to new immigrants and residents of Eretz Yisrael.

In June, 1936, three months after the creation of the Department of Culture, a nation-wide seminar for teacher education was convened in Jerusalem. Students came from all parts of the land. Classes were held in the Menorah House for a period of six weeks, five days a week, eight hours a day. The registration fee, including tuition, was one lira (approximately \$5.99) for the entire seminar. One hundred students enrolled. Special arrangements were made to house the out-of-town students. Meals were served in the Menorah House and in nearby restaurants or hotels. Stipends were offered to needy students.

Certified teachers and group leaders as well as graduates of Hebrew High schools of Eretz Yisrael and other lands were admitted without an entrance examination. Persons not having proof of their graduation from a recognized school, or evidence of their training and experience in the fields of teaching or group (club) work, were required to take examinations. Upon successfully passing the examinations, these persons were admitted as qualified students. The entrance examinations were based on knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature.



In order to receive a national teacher's certificate entitling one to teach Hebrew to adults in the Yishuv's system of evening classes, the student was required to attend a minimum of four hours of classwork daily and to pass the final written and oral examinations, as well as to perform satisfactorily at two live demonstration sessions at the local evening classes.

The final examinations took place at the conclusion of the six-week seminar. The orals were given before a committee of three persons, one of whom was Mr. Nahum Levin, the national supervisor of the Department of Culture. The written examinations were chiefly in the area of the language arts--expression, skill and style of written Hebrew and ability to communicate ideas and rules of grammar; knowledge of Tanakh; and knowledge of Jewish history in the homeland and in other lands.

The field work consisted of teaching two sessions at evening classes in the presence of the regular classroom teacher and the national supervisor. The prospective teacher was judged by his (or her) ability to present a new lesson to a beginners' class. Skill in creating and maintaining interest was considered vital in the evaluation by the observing teacher and the national supervisor.

The national certificates and licenses were issued to the successful candidates at a formal commencement exercises on the last evening of the Summer Seminar.

The faculty at the summer seminars included noted scholars and professionals in the fields of education, psychology, sociology, rabbinics, philosophy, history, government and the labor movement. Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel served as Director and Mr. Nahum Levin was the



registrar and national coordinator. Several of the men on the 1936 roster are still active in high government positions. Most notable is Yitzhak ben Zvi, the President of Israel, who was on the faculty for the three years of the seminars' existence. At that time he was President of the Vaad Leumi. Dr. N. H. Tur-Sinai (formerly Tortchiner) is now the Director of the Hebrew Language Academy. Dr. Haim Lipshutz is serving in the Religious Division of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Twenty-eight courses comprising a total of 219 hours of classroom instruction were offered at the first seminar. Of this, a student was required to take a minimum of 180 hours in order to qualify for the final examinations. A student could be exempted from the remaining hours on the basis of previous study. This provision encouraged the enrollment of a large number of students from the Hebrew University who responded to a plea by the Department of Culture to fill the ranks of adult teachers for the new olim and watikim in the homeland. Fifty students, out of an initial enrollment of 100, passed their finals and received their national certificates.

TABLE II. CURRICULUM, FACULTY AND HOURS OF INSTRUCTION IN THE 1936 SUMMER SEMINAR.

<u>CURRICULUM</u>	<u>HOURS</u>	<u>FACULTY</u>
I. Language		
1. General Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Language	8	Prof. N. H. Tur-Sinai
2. Hebrew Pronunciation and Diction	4	Dr. Yitzhak Epstein
3. Hebrew Grammar	30	Yitzhak Livni
4. Problems in language and grammar, changes and modernization in the <u>nikkud</u>	4	Dr. A. Porath
5. The Hebrew sentence and its construction	8	Rabbi M. Z. Segal



TABLE II. (CONTINUED)

6. The Modern Hebrew Style	26	Dr. Yitzhak Epstein
7. Psychology of Language and Study of Association	10	Dr. Yitzhak Epstein
II. Literature		
8. Periods in Modern Hebrew Literature	8	Prof. Joseph Klausner
III. The Science of Teaching		
9. Teaching of Hebrew: Beginners	12	Isaac Livni Nahum Levin
10. Teaching of Hebrew: Intermediate	6	Nahum Levin
11. Teaching of Hebrew: Advanced	1	Dr. A. Porath
12. Teaching of Tanakh: Beginners	4	Dr. Shlomo D. Goitein
13. Teaching of Tanakh: Intermediate	5	Nahum Levin
14. Teaching of Tanakh: Advanced	1	Dr. A. Porath
15. Teaching of Agada	8	Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel
16. Teaching Literature to Adults	10	Dr. Yom Tov Helman
17. Methods in Teaching History	8	Dr. A. Simon
18. Teaching Adults the Ideas, Concepts and Beliefs of the Torah and Religion	8	Rabbi Y. Berman
19. How to Interpret and Teach Holidays to Adults	4	Ben Zion Dinur
IV. Adult Culture and Education		
20. History of Torah Education in Eretz Yisrael	8	Prof. Simha Assaf
21. Methods of Educating the Adult	4	Yaacob Zondak
22. Methods and Ways of Adult Education: critical evaluation of maturation and learning	16	Dr. Haim Lipshutz
23. The Tanakh and Eretz Yisrael	8	Prof. Sh. Klein
V. History and Geography		
24. Flora in Eretz Yisrael	8	Dr. A. Haruveni
25. History of the Yishuv in Eretz Yisrael in the Sixteenth Century	4	Yitzhak Ben Zvi
26. Our Neighbors in Eretz Yisrael and our Nation in the Golah	2	Eliyahu Epstein
27. The Political, Economic and Cultural Situation of the Jews in Poland	2	Abraham Levinsohn
28. The Jews in the U.S.S.R.	2	Dr. Haim Lipshutz



B. The 1937 Summer Seminar for Teachers.<sup>35</sup>

In the light of the experience with the 1936 seminar, certain revisions were made in the curriculum and faculty of the 1937 seminar. Although the overall objectives remained the same, more emphasis was placed on the practical aspects of the courses. Practical classroom techniques, featuring live demonstration lessons, took precedence over courses in theory. More than 50% of the teaching hours were given to classroom procedure and methodology, especially for beginners' classes. In addition to the demonstration sessions, the students were taken to classes for the purpose of observation, following which Mr. Levin met with all the students to discuss their experiences.

The changes in the faculty were in the direction of persons more skilled in the functional aspects of teaching adults. The following teachers were added to the faculty: Professor Hugo Bergman, Professor A. Frankel, Mr. P. Lachover, Mr. Zalman Shazar (formerly Rubashov), Dr. M. Brill, Dr. Ephraim Shmueli, Mr. Louis Shuval and Mr. Zev Vilnay (Ph.D. from Dropsie College in 1938). Mr. Vilnay, an authority on the geography of Eretz Yisrael, taught a course entitled "Trips and Outings in the Homeland."

One hundred and twenty men and women enrolled in the second seminar, which was held in Tel Aviv beginning June 15, 1937. The requirements for admission, certification and licensing were the same as for the 1936 seminar. Of the 120 students who enrolled, 75 took their final examinations and were certified to teach. Their national licenses qualified them to teach evening classes anywhere in the land.



C. The 1938 Summer Seminar for Teachers.<sup>36</sup>

In the main, this last seminar was conducted in the same manner as the preceding one. The course of study and the faculty remained the same. The emphasis upon the practical side of classroom teaching continued. Dr. Vilnay's course on "Trips and Outings" was increased from six hours to ten hours over the six-week period.

The enrollment at this seminar was the largest in the three-year experience. A total of 144 men and women came from all parts of the land to attend the seminar. One-fifth of these were recent arrivals from Europe.

The requirements for admission, certification and licensing were the same as in the 1937 seminar. The sessions were held in Tel Aviv beginning June, 1938.

The number of students who received their licenses to teach in 1938 was smaller in size and in proportion than in the preceding seminars. Whereas the 1936 seminar graduated 50% of its enrollment and the 1937 seminar graduated approximately 62% of its enrollment, the 1938 seminar graduated only 35 of its 144 students, or 24%.

The total initial enrollments at the three seminars was 344. In all, 160 persons were graduated, or approximately 44%. Placement of these teachers was made by the Department of Culture which arranged with the local authorities, the Histadrut Culture Councils and the City Council culture committees for the employment of the graduates. Salaries were negotiated by the Department and, in most cases, the recommendations of the Department were accepted. Teachers who were placed in positions in the kibbutzim and in the smaller settlements were called upon to teach the elementary grades in the morning, as



well as the adult language classes in the evening. The Department made an attempt to keep in contact with the graduates.

At the conclusion of the third summer seminar, the Department of Culture set out to survey the future needs of adult teacher education courses. It found that teachers could be placed in large numbers in beginners' classes, but because of inadequate financial resources new classes could not be opened, thus reducing the need for teacher recruitment. Coupled with the lack of funds was the gradual drop in immigration. Because there was no long-range policy for the adult language evening classes, the Department was obliged to cancel plans for a fourth summer seminar.

D. Manual for Teachers Used in the Summer Seminars.<sup>37</sup>

In May, 1937, Mr. Nahum Levin published a bulletin containing his lectures on the teaching of Hebrew to adults. This bulletin was distributed to the students attending his course, "The Teaching of Hebrew to Adults," at the 1937 summer seminar held in Tel Aviv. This guide was a "first" in the sense that none had been published before 1937 which contained the theoretical and practical approaches to the adult teaching program.<sup>38</sup>

In the Foreword to the manual, Mr. Levin explained that the program of evening classes was unique in terms of its aims, problems, and implementation. The manual itself contained a set of ten lectures and demonstration lessons, primarily for beginners' classes which Mr. Levin considered to be the core of the program.

Mr. Levin stated that in the search for a good method of teaching adults the Hebrew language and culture he had experimented with the Berlitz method<sup>39</sup> and with the pure grammar method.<sup>40</sup> Each method



by itself fell short of his requirements to achieve the desired results in teaching adults the facility of conversation and the spirit of the Hebrew language as the national tongue of the homeland. The method which he finally adopted was a synthesis of both approaches.

Mr. Levin stressed the importance of thorough planning and preparation on the part of the teacher. Before each lesson, the teacher must know which words he will teach and which grammatical rules he will present. Chance teaching, he said, is inexcusable. It can lead only to failure of the teacher in the teaching process, and to disappointment and frustration of the learner in the learning process.

The siha, or conversation, was to be the basis of the lesson. The teacher must also not leave this phase of his lesson to chance. The siha must be live, refreshing and challenging. Even if spontaneity is encouraged, the essential nature of its application in class must be well directed and guided, in terms of the content and the vocabulary.

Mr. Levin favored the natural and direct method of Ivrit be-Ivrit. He felt that the language could not be taught in any other way, if it was to become a spoken language. He did not, however, believe that the teacher should become a slave to the method. He said: "The method is to serve our needs, and it should be flexible... If there is a must, translate!" 41

Mr. Levin did not recommend the use of a textbook, except occasionally as an aid in teaching. He preferred to teach orally and with the use of flash cards or the blackboard. He also stressed drill, repetition and review.

The pedagogic approaches and classroom techniques for the teach-



ing of Hebrew to adults, as outlined in Mr. Levin's 1937 manual for teachers, formed the basis for the methods used in the current ulpanim. Mr. Levin proved himself to be not only a capable organizer and program administrator but also a competent and dedicated teacher of teachers.



Chapter V.

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF TEACHERS FOR ADULT LANGUAGE EVENING CLASSES

In the summer of 1938, the Department of Culture called a national conference of teachers and culture workers engaged in the Yishuv's system of language and culture education for adults. It was held in Tel Aviv concurrently with the third summer seminar. Its purpose was to appraise the work done and to project plans for the future.

In his opening address before the convention, Mr. Nahum Levin declared that the year 1938 was a turning point in the complex program of teaching the Hebrew language to adults. He said:

This year we witnessed the situation in all its seriousness and it is clear to us that we cannot solve it by the same unproved methods we employed before the mass immigration of the last few years. Now, and in the coming years, the large proportion of the immigrants will not be steeped in Judaism, in Zionism, and especially in the skills of Hebrew conversation...

Since 1933 we have become convinced that the solution to the problem can only be found through government intervention on a national scale, and based upon these three principles:

- 1) Concentration of the activity of Hanhalat ha-lashon (teaching the language) in the highest authority of the Yishuv and its ultimate implementation by local and municipal authorities;
- 2) Development of a standardized pedagogic and methodical approach in the area of language teaching to adults; and
- 3) Creation of a body of teachers for adult language education who will view their profession as full-time and as a personal and public life mission and endeavor. (42)

The discussion following Mr. Levin's presentation confirmed the points made by him. There was general agreement on the need to set up an organization of adult language teachers in order to give recognition and status to the profession.

At the last session of the conference, the following resolutions were approved:

1. To organize an association of language teachers for adults.
2. To establish a professional relationship with the Federation of



Teachers.

3. To strengthen the ties with the Department of Culture and the Vaad Leumi.
4. To centralize the overall national budget for the program of evening classes in the authority of the Vaad Leumi.
5. To continue with the program of cooperative national meetings and conventions of a pedagogic nature.
6. To require a national license of every teacher for adults, to be issued by the Vaad Leumi.
7. To publish textbooks and teaching aids for adult language evening classes.
8. To publish a periodic pedagogic bulletin, containing proven methods for teaching the Hebrew language and culture to adults, based upon teachers' experiences with such methods and approaches.

The conference was an important milestone in the process of laying the foundations for the future development of the adult language teaching profession. For the first time, these teachers gave expression to their needs for recognition and for affiliation with the larger teachers' group, the Histadrut ha-morim be-eretz Yisrael. In the coming years, particularly after the establishment of the State of Israel, we shall find reference to their continued efforts in this direction.



Chapter VI.

THE YISHUV'S INVOLVEMENT IN TEACHING THE HEBREW LANGUAGE: MIFAL HA-MIL

A. Reasons for Launching the "Mil" Campaign.

In his book on the history of the Yishuv, Mr. Moshe Attias, the general secretary of the Vaad Leumi, decries the complacency and the questionable attitude toward the Hebrew language by leading institutions, agencies and important individuals in the land during this period. He observed that it was "high time" for every man, woman and institution in Eretz Yisrael to assume the responsibility in preserving the Hebrew language and in establishing it as a firm and solid standard in the land.<sup>43</sup>

Mr. Nahum Levin, in his 1939 report on the activities of the Department of Culture before a general meeting of the Vaad Leumi, pointed to the neglect and indifference that prevailed in the land toward the support and maintenance of the language and culture program. This neglect, he said, resulted in the widespread usage of foreign languages in the newspapers and periodicals, from lecture stands and at meetings of national agencies and professional bodies. He was convinced, however, that this situation was not the wish of the people, and that the future support of the nation-wide program must come from the entire Yishuv. Mr. Levin proposed the Department of Culture plan for Mifal ha-mil which, after a full discussion, was accepted by the Vaad Leumi.<sup>44</sup>

B. The Launching of the Mifal ha-mil Campaign.

The overall plan called for a nation-wide appeal to raise sufficient funds to operate the Yishuv's system of evening classes. The appeal was to acquaint the people with the facts—what needed to be



done, what could be done, and the amount required to accomplish the project.

The campaign was to be launched on many fronts at the same time. The media were to be the newspapers, radio, lectures, home circulars, and announcements at theatre and concert performances and during the services in the synagogues.

During the first week of April, 1939, before the festival of Pesah, the Department of Culture began its publicity campaign. The first release sent to all the newspapers was head-lined as follows: "Mi la-tarbut, yitrom mil la-tarbut" -- Whoever is for culture will contribute a mil for culture. The release stressed the lack of unity in language which existed in the homeland and the great need for a national concern for the education of the masses. The following areas were enumerated as those which were to benefit from the campaign: the area of teaching the Hebrew language; the area of improvement and enrichment of the Hebrew language; the area of foundation education; and the area of dissemination of culture among women and members of the oriental communities. The projected plans for development of each of these areas were given in detail.<sup>45</sup>

Concurrent with the issuing of the first release, the Department of Culture, through the efforts of Mr. Shraga Kadri, the director of the project, convened mass meetings throughout the land, especially in the major cities, featuring noted personalities as speakers. A special film "Daber elai Ivrit" (Speak Hebrew with me) was shown in all movie houses, with the proceeds going to the Mifal.<sup>46</sup>

The Association of Publishers cooperated by selling novels and subscriptions to periodicals at reduced prices. They offered free



copies of dictionaries and beginners' textbooks.

The daily and weekly newspapers gave free space to the Department's releases and announcements. Editorials were written to urge the people to join in the national endeavor to insure a "flow of support" for the "Operation--Hebrew Language." In the teachers' weekly, Hed ha-hinukh, the editor wrote:<sup>47</sup>

...We receive the news of the Mifal ha-mil with great enthusiasm. The Culture Department of the Vaad Leumi has displayed vision, fortitude and faith in the Yishuv by involving it in this crusade. This mil is sacred because it is directed to heal our broken-down cultural structure. We hope that the idea of mil contribution will spread to our brethren in the diaspora, and they in turn will contribute half a shekel for the support of language and culture in the homeland.

Specifically, the Mifal ha-mil requested every adult man and woman, eighteen years of age and over, to contribute one mil daily (approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent; 1/1000 Lira Palestine). Friends of Hebrew contributed more than a mil a day, and their contributions were labeled a "golden mil." Organizations which volunteered to be sponsors and contributed more than the "golden mil" per day referred to their donations as the "Builders' mil."

Subscribers received membership cards and coupon books, entitling them to privileges and reductions for the purchase of books, tickets to the theater, admissions to concerts and lectures, and so forth.

To solicit the contributions, a women's council was organized. These women called upon contributors in their homes, businesses, and offices. The council also aided the Department in setting up vocational and educational activities for young women immigrants.<sup>48</sup>

A special appeal was made to the Teachers' Federation at its thirteenth annual convention, held in the Lemel School in Jerusalem on August 28, 1939. The teachers were urged to place themselves at the service of this "great undertaking, because the goals sought by



this project are destined to enhance the work in which he is engaged and to which he is devoted."<sup>49</sup>

At the same convention, Mr. Gur Aryeh proposed that an organization to be called "Ha-mishmar ha-tarbuti" be set up. The chief task of this organization would be to disseminate the Hebrew language among adults. Mr. Aryeh called for the drafting of all kindergarten teachers and other teachers to constitute the workers. He recommended that the mishmar ~~be~~ include representatives of organizations and cultural associations and that a special committee be appointed to follow up the purposes. The Mishmar ha-tarbuti was to function as a standing committee of the Federation of Teachers, and was to submit periodic reports on all its activities. The convention approved the recommendation and the mishmar began to function immediately.<sup>50</sup>

C. Result of the Mifal ha-mil.

In his report to the Vaad Leumi, Mr. Levin described the outcome of the nation-wide campaign. He stated that his confidence in the people was well rewarded, that they had answered the call with a magnanimous response. All organizations and ideological groups came forward willingly and pledged their moral and financial support. The full cooperation of the daily and weekly press, and of every organization called on for promotion or publicity, was received. Said Mr. Levin:

Our program was a success. We promised the Yishuv that, given adequate funds, all public-sponsored evening classes will open their doors and admit every oleh to study without tuition all the years he chooses to study. We promised the Yishuv that we would offer foundation education to every youth and adult, and to every child who has no opportunity to receive his formal education. We promised to furnish education to members of the Oriental and Middle East groups. Now, we hope to fulfill our pledges. (51)



By the end of September, 1940, the total amount collected in the Mifal was 5,338.261 Lirot. Thirty-two thousand members were enrolled.<sup>52</sup>

The following statistical report shows how the monies were expended:

<u>INCOME</u>	<u>EXPENDITURES</u>	<u>LIROT</u>
	Evening classes and lectures	1,897.558
	Payments of indebtedness, salaries, etc.	1,231.172
	Administration, etc.	2,209.531
5,338.261	<u>TOTAL</u>	<hr/> 5,338.261

In reacting to the campaign and the results of the Mifal ha-mil, Mr. Attias stated that the first year had been a year of organization and investment in the future. The second year was to be a year of "laying strong foundations in the educational objectives." He observed that the educational activity on a nation-wide basis was only beginning. The contributor should realize that a national cultural endeavor requires continuous subsidization and encouragement; and if it cannot be done by the central government, the people should do it. The people should consider it a privilege to support such a worthy project, of assuring the nation of one of "its basic premises of existence."<sup>53</sup>

The Mifal, however, was not continued for another year. No explanation was given for this.



Chapter VII.

THE AFTERMATHS OF THE MIFAL HA-MIL

A. Nation-wide Expansion of Evening Classes.

The promotion and publicity of the Mifal gave rise to an upsurge of activity in the area of language teaching to adults in Eretz Yisrael. Mr. Attias reported that, through the stimulation of the Mifal it was possible to expand the evening classes, especially among the olim from oriental countries. A great awakening was discerned in the oriental communities to become involved in learning Hebrew and to become more closely identified with the national purposes. Classes were opened in the moshavot and in isolated communities in the environs of Jerusalem, Haifa, Taiberias and Safed. In the latter areas, Mr. Attias stated, it was difficult to set the programs into motion because the people spoke different languages and came from diverse cultural backgrounds. However, these difficulties were overcome by fitting the programs to the students, beginning with youths whose literacy was very low and progressing to students who could handle an advanced program of Hebrew language instruction.<sup>54</sup>

In his report to the Vaad Leumi, Mr. Nahum Levin stated that in the 1938/39 school year, before the Mifal, only 2500 persons had studied Hebrew in the evening classes. In the 1939/40 school year, however, the enrollment figures jumped to 6811 persons who were taught<sup>55</sup> by 144 teachers.

The table on Page 84 indicates the number of classes, students and teachers in various locations throughout the land, as they existed in 1939/40. In the spring of 1940 the overall enrollment increased by 200 students to over 7000 persons studying Hebrew in the Yishuv's system of evening classes.



TABLE III. ENROLLMENT IN EVENING CLASSES, 1939-1940.<sup>56</sup>

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>NO. OF CLASSES</u>	<u>NO. OF STUDENTS</u>	<u>NO. OF TEACHERS</u>
Tel Aviv	103	2100	46
Jerusalem	58	1350	30
Haifa	52	1270	29
Herzlia	6	190	1
Raanana	5	116	1
Kfar Saba	3	50	1
Ramat ha-Sharon	3	50	3
Herzlia, District #3	3	72	2
Kfar Shmaryahu	8	135	1
Ramot ha-shavim	3	62	2
Ramat Hadar	3	56	1
Hadar	3	66	1
Magdiel	2	42	2
Ramatayim and environs	6	78	2
Rehovot	5	125	6
Rishon l'Ezion	3	100	1
Gedera	2	60	1
Hedera	7	120	3
Netanya	2	50	1
Binyamina	2	40	1
Nahariya	9	116	1
Bat Yam	2	82	1
Holon	4	101	2
Petah Tikva	8	140	2
Pardes Hanah	2	70	1
Ramat Gan	3	80	1
Tiberias	4	90	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>6811</b>	<b>144</b>

The distribution of classes according to levels of instruction and months of attendance in the Jerusalem area was as follows:<sup>57</sup>

<u>LEVEL OF INSTRUCTION</u>	<u>HESHVAN</u>	<u>KISLEV</u>	<u>SHEVAT</u>	<u>SIVAN</u>
Aleph (beginners, 1st term)	3	10	18	8
Bet (beginners, 2nd term)	3	10	14	21
Gimel (intermediate, 1st term)	3	13	15	16
Daled (intermed., 2nd term)	2	5	6	8
Heh (advanced)	1	3	3	5
	6=			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>58</b>



Immigrants from Germany and Austria constituted the largest number of students in the evening classes. Next in number were immigrants from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Holland and Italy. For the first time in the experience of the evening classes, students from oriental countries constituted a substantial number in the overall enrollment. In Jerusalem this amounted to 36%. These students came from Yemen, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, Bukhara and Georgia.

The majority of the students were from thirty to forty years old. The youngest were seventeen, and the oldest were between sixty-eight and seventy years old.

Women constituted the larger proportion of the total enrollment, or 60%. Of particular significance in the total picture of the awakening of the Oriental communities was the fact that their women joined in large numbers, and constituted 40% of their enrollment.

Teachers were provided for Aliya Bet, the Maapilim, in their camps. Classes for working youth were set up in these communities: Petah Tikva, Rishon L'Zion, Kfar Saba, Herzlia, Magdiel, Ramat Hashavim, Ramat Ha-Sharon, Kfar Shmaryahu and Nahariya. Special classes were conducted for illiterate immigrants, or partially literate youths who had completed the third grade of elementary schooling.

The studies in the evening classes included Hebrew conversation, reading, writing and geography of the homeland. Reading was from a beginners' text, newspapers in vocalized and non-vocalized editions, selections from literature, Tanakh, Mishnah and Agadah. Courses were given in arithmetic and nature study in classes for oriental students.

The students were classified in three levels: beginner, inter-



mediate and advanced. For slow students, special preparatory classes were set up.

The textbooks used were: Aleh, Parts 1 and 2; Yesodot; Ivrit Le-mathilim; Lashon wa-sefer; Shvilim; Prakim Rishonim; Sefat Anenu; Elmad; Netiv; Ben-Habib; and pamphlets published by Dvir and Omomut. The newspapers read were: Davar, Hegheh, Omer, Ha-aretz, Ha-shaah, Ha-boker, Ha-tzofeh and Ha-mashkif. The sihot were of a vital and functional nature, related to the personal experiences of the students and to current events.

Mr. Levin reported that particular attention was given to creating a friendly and congenial atmosphere in the classes. Special art exhibits and dramatic presentations were arranged by the students on Hanuka, Tu bi-Shvat, and Purim. Lectures were given on topics of current interest. Films produced in Eretz Yisrael were shown. The students attended performances at the Habimah and Ohel theaters, prior to which they were briefed on the linguistic and plot aspects of the performances. On Lag ba-omer trips and hikes were scheduled throughout the land. "We made every effort," Mr. Levin said, "to deepen the conscience of our students with the language, the culture and the resettlement of our homeland."<sup>58</sup>

Five supervisors were appointed by the Department of Culture: Dr. Haim bar-Dayana, in Jerusalem; Mr. Moshe Raat, in Tel Aviv; Dr. Sternberg Finer, in Haifa; Mr. Dov Beilin, in the Sharon; and Dr. Hahokh Darotz, in Judah. These men organized new classes wherever needed, merged classes, and were responsible for their total operation. In addition, they organized and assisted in carrying out all other



activities, such as trips, performances and parties.

The responsibility of the national supervisor, Mr. Nahum Levin, was to coordinate and integrate the nation-wide system of evening classes and other activities of the Department of Culture. Overall supervision was performed by him through periodic visitations at the classes and through regional and national meetings with the supervisors and teachers.

Support for all the activities of the Department of Culture came from the municipalities and township councils, from the immigrant associations and Landschaften fellowships, from national organizations and professional groups. The WIZO (Women's Zionist Organization) chapters and the Council of Working Mothers influenced their memberships to study the Hebrew language.

Promotion and financial assistance were given by political parties and large workers' federations which had given up their direct involvement in conducting evening classes in order to allow the Department of Culture to engage in the nation-wide operation of classes.

These organizations which had been engaged in conducting evening language classes for many years did not abandon their interest in the current activity. On the contrary, they offered even greater support now. Classes originally organized by them and manned by their teachers remained to function after we gave approval. We retained the ideological direction and content in these classes. (59)

Mr. Levin stated that the General Federation of Workers continued to assume the major role in stimulating the teaching of Hebrew in the land. Even the General Zionists returned to their one-time support of the evening classes. The Revisionist group also showed a vital interest in the classes. As a matter of fact, Mr. Levin reported, a substantial



number of evening classes in Jerusalem was being taught by teachers affiliated with the Revisionist Party.

The Orthodox group, for the first time, became involved in promoting the study of Hebrew at evening classes and special classes were organized for them. The Orthodox Centre appointed an organizer-supervisor to assist with their classes. The particulars of the Orthodox-sponsored classes will be discussed in Section "C" of this chapter, below.

Mr. Levin observed that "for the first time in the history of the Yishuv we are witnessing the foundation of a program of Hebrew learning for all segments of the community--be they political, religious or social."

#### B. Activities of the Department of Culture other than Evening Classes.

Although the major emphasis of the Department's work was in the field of evening classes, two related programs had a direct bearing upon the entrenchment of the Hebrew language in the Yishuv.

##### 1. Hebrew Circle Groups -- Hugin.

The impetus for the hugin came with the organization of the Mishmar ha-tarbut (see Page 81) by the Department in cooperation with the Federation of Teachers. The chief purpose was to attract students who had completed their basic course at the evening classes, and other persons with a high cultural background to meet together and improve their Hebrew expression and linguistic competence.

A group of 200 professional teachers volunteered to meet with these hugin lectures and socials, and provide opportunities for correct Hebrew speaking. The practice was to have the students deliver talks. The teachers listened and, following the delivery, made corrections and indicated ways for improving not only the content and style of the talk, but the richness of the vocabulary. In addition



to language, lectures were given on the Tanakh, Jewish history and Hebrew literature.

The number of students in each hug varied from twelve to forty persons, with an average of twenty-five. Attendance was very good in all locations, especially when sessions on Tanakh and literature were announced. Tel Aviv had fifteen hugim.

## 2. Battle against Foreign Languages in the Yishuv.

The wide-spread usage of foreign languages at lectures, artistic performances and in the daily press and periodicals in the Yishuv was of great concern to the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi.

Mr. Levin stated in his report:

Every place we saw that Hebrew was neglected or substituted by another language, we came forward to defend it and restore it... We conducted an uncompromising battle with newspapers published in foreign languages or Yiddish... At mass meetings our speakers spoke out vigorously against this plague... We urged writers, men and women of national stature, to come out in their writing or at public meetings for the sole use of Hebrew in our land... We supported and encouraged Ha-igud le-hashlatat ha-lashon (The Council for the Defense of the Language), especially in its national campaign during the Shavua ha-lashon ha-ivrit (Hebrew Language Week). We were convinced that our efforts in the spread of evening classes and in the teaching of Hebrew to thousands of new olim would have better results in the street, the home, the meeting-place, and the printed word were saturated with Hebrew. 60

## 6. Classes Sponsored by the Orthodox Community.

Mr. Joseph Azaryahu, Director of the Department of Education of the Knesset Yisrael, reported on the program and budget proposal for language study and Torah learning among the orthodox group in Eretz Yisrael for the 1940 fiscal year. 61 The program was based on the needs of the orthodox communities and included the teaching of Torah, the Hebrew language, and the dissemination of Torah concepts and the homeland culture. The ideologies of Ha-poel ha-mizrahi and ha-oved



ha-dati, the orthodox youth groups and the oriental communities were also part of the course of study.

Funds were requested from the Education Department of the Knesset Yisrael and from local city and council treasuries to meet the budget of the orthodox activities. The overall budget for the fiscal year 1940 was 2818,400 lirot, and was to provide educational opportunities for 1296 persons, in accordance with the above activities. A request was made for newer programs to cost 7459.300 lirot.

TABLE IV. THE TEACHING OF HEBREW AND TORAH, 1940.<sup>62</sup>

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>NUMBER OF STUDENTS</u>	<u>COST</u>
Jerusalem and environs	199	375.600
Tel Aviv	631	1650.000
Haifa and environs	69	259.200
The Sharon area	52	129.600
The Judah area	145	405.000
TOTAL	1296	2818.400

ADDITIONAL BUDGET AND PROGRAM FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, 1941.

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>NUMBER OF STUDENTS</u>	<u>COST</u>
Jerusalem and Environs	887	2592.500
Tel Aviv	742	1771.400
Haifa and environs	746	1595.400
Moshavot, Moshavim, Kibbutzim	450	1500.000
TOTAL	2825	7459.300

To the overall budget of 10,277.700 lirot was added an amount of 500.000 lirot for rentals and custodial services.



## Chapter VIII.

### EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

In 1940 the Department of Culture inaugurated a program of informal education designed for the large numbers of educated olim who came from countries of advanced cultures. The purposes for establishing this program were: 1) to preserve and sustain the high cultural level of the olim; 2) to strengthen the national cultural tradition and heritage; and 3) to raise the cultural level and understanding of the masses of uneducated immigrants, a primary concern of the Department in the years since its founding and particularly this year.<sup>63</sup>

#### A. Popular Lectures.

The Department commissioned 150 lecturers and artists to appear in the large cities and smaller settlements. Mr. Levin reported that more than 300 activities were held. These included lectures, socials, exhibits, meetings, concerts and dramatic performances. Approximately 100,000 persons attended these events, with some single gatherings attracting over 1,000 people.

The subjects of the lectures were: 1) Hebrew language and culture; 2) history of our people and Eretz Yisrael; 3) the saga of the national renaissance and rejuvenation; 4) modern Hebrew literature; 5) personalities in the Zionist Movement; 6) sociology of our past and present; 7) science and technology (nature and agriculture); 8) the study of Musar (ethics) and education; and 9) art and literature.

The lecturers and artists were teachers, authors, newspapermen, professors of the Hebrew University, actors of the Habimah and Ohel theaters, leaders of the Yishuv and executives of organizations and agencies.



## B. The Rashi Jubilee.

In commemoration of the 900th anniversary of the birth of Rashi, the Department of Culture announced a full month of celebration and study. The event began in Jerusalem at a special mass meeting on Mount Scopus, and was followed through with special Rashi meetings throughout the land. The avowed purpose was to bring the people closer to their sources and great men through education and promotion.

Participants at the Mount Scopus event included Yitzhak ben Zvi, then Executive Director of the Vaad Leumi, Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Hai Uziel, Chief Rabbi of Tel Aviv, and Professor Abraham Halevi Fraenkel, Rector of the Hebrew University.

The lecturers on the life and works of Rashi included Professor Simha Assaf, Mr. Haim Lipshutz, Director of the Mizrahi Seminar, and Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel, Director of the Department of Culture.

A special Rashi Exhibit was shown at the Hillel House in Jerusalem. Thousands of viewers came; among them were full classes of the local elementary schools and the evening language classes, together with their teachers and principals. Explanations of the exhibits were given by the scholar, Mr. Isaac Verfel, and by the leading librarian, Mr. Barukh Shuhterman.

The newspapers published special supplements of the contributions of Rashi to Jewish thought and the understanding of the Tanakh. Songs, poems and essays were submitted to the newspapers by students in the schools and in the evening classes.

Synagogues devoted the four Sabbaths of the Rashi Month to sermons from the pulpits and study in the afternoon groups on Rashi -- the man, the philosopher, the commentator and the preserver of tradition.



The Department issued special Rashi circulars which were distributed to all adult groups and to all classes in the elementary schools and the evening classes.<sup>64</sup>

C. Cultural Activity among the Youth Groups.

The concern for the young new immigrants, those who had either no schooling at all or who had attended school up to the third or fourth grades, was assumed by the Department of Culture. Classes were opened for teen-age boys and girls, offering them basic education and classes in Hebrew conversation. Informal education was also provided in the form of social activities and national "meets." The Department co-operated with youth leaders of the labor organizations in this endeavor. Their efforts, especially with the Youth Council of Tel Aviv, brought about a nation-wide organization of youth activity based on a meaningful cultural-nationalistic platform.<sup>65</sup>

The Department formulated a set of principles and objectives for youth activity:

1. Methodical work to organize all youth, regardless of origin, ideological affiliation and political views, and to provide them with cultural and language programming drawn from Jewish national and international topics of interest. A beginning was made in this direction when 1200 young men and women attended a Sabbath service in Tel Aviv dedicated to Haim Nahman Bialik.
2. Lecturers and youth leaders to be sent to all units, offering them knowledge and information at their own level of interest and education. Lecturers were sent to speak on subjects the youth groups themselves had chosen: language and culture, Rashi, Hasidism, and Herzl.
3. National conventions and workshops to be organized for youth lead-



local, regional and national institutes and kinusim. In the summer of 1940 a national kinus (convention) was held in Raanana for all members of the local culture committees of municipalities, township councils, labor groups and immigration associations. Among those attending were culture leaders from the general community--teachers, journalists, writers and others.

The keynote address was delivered by the Director of the Department of Culture, Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel. Remarks and greetings were given by the National Supervisor, Mr. Nahum Levin, and the Secretary of the Department, Mr. Shraga Kadri. The speakers related the experiences of their operations and their accomplishments in uniting the Yishuv and in raising the level and position of Hebrew in the land. Representatives of the Histadrut's Centre for Culture and the Orthodox Centre for Culture pointed to the unfilled needs of popular education for youth and the masses, and stressed that greater activity was required in the field of language teaching.

The preamble to the resolutions approved at the Raanana Kinuss stated:

Whereas these are very difficult times, the kind of which had been unknown in the history of mankind and particularly in the history of our people, there is a double task for us to defend and protect not only the physical being but also the spiritual being of the Yishuv. Such defense and strengthening will serve as an inspiration and a powerful influence to the remnants of our people who will come here and to those who will, in their lands of dispersion, rebuild their demolished communities after the holocaust and the decimation by the most brutal tyrant and enemy of our people...

The resolutions of the Kinuss were the following:

1. We at this Kinuss call upon the entire Yishuv to unite upon the fundamentals of the one Hebrew language, to form close ties with the original and vital Hebrew culture, and for every individual to assume a personal obligation to fulfill these purposes in his own life.



2. The Kinnus calls upon the Yishuv to stand by and support the Department of Culture in its efforts to establish a national-spiritual image of the community of Israel. Likewise the assemblage calls upon the local community councils and municipalities to increase their allocations for the programs of Hebrew language teaching.
3. The Kinnus calls upon the Yishuv to keep and preserve the Hebraic flavor; to insist upon speaking Hebrew in the home, in the street, in places of work; to keep and abide by the directions for Hebrew defense issued by the Vaad Leumi at the beginning of the War.
4. The Kinnus calls for an open struggle against the foreignness which has swept the land and the cultural assimilation which is taking place...The Yishuv must create an environment which shall have room only for Hebrew; it must encourage and persuade persons who do not know Hebrew to study the language...The Yishuv must not compromise when it comes to the Hebrew language.
5. The Kinnus declares that the time has come to demand of the Yishuv to cast off the foreign names, and it directs the Department to initiate a full program for the substitution of Hebrew names for the foreign names now used in the homeland.
6. The Kinnus confirms that the teaching of the language should remain under the single and central sponsorship of the Department of Culture...that the Department be directed to expand the system of evening classes in the coming year of 1941 and double the enrollment.
7. The Kinnus considers that the Department should engage in a wide program of obliterating illiteracy among the youth and providing educational opportunity for the neglected child.
8. The Kinnus calls upon the Department to speed up cultural activity among the soldiers; to organize new travelling universities and to support existing ones; to insist upon a high level of Hebrew at the lectures presented at the town halls; to support all literary endeavors for popular education; to solidify its relations with youth organizations and thereby to create a wide popular support for maintaining a steadfast hold...in order that the acquisition of the language be permanent and continuous.
9. The Kinnus calls upon the Department of Culture to activate the Tel Aviv Culture Council appointed by the Vaad Leumi, or else to appoint a new council.
10. The Kinnus expresses its appreciation to the members of the Mish-mar ha-tarbut for the inception of their activity among the teachers in the areas of language and culture for the people.
11. The Kinnus recognizes a successful beginning in the "mil" operation...that it has established a permanent fund to aid the program



of language teaching...and it calls upon the public to meet its pledges by paying a mil a day for culture.

12. The Kinnus declares that at the conclusion of the first year of the mil program, it will go out to solicit 60,000 contributors, and it calls upon the Yishuv to help attain this goal. It calls especially for the assistance of the municipal councils and local committees, which are urged to use their influence through official announcements and proclamations on behalf of the mil campaign for education and culture.
13. The Kinnus announces the organization of volunteer groups on behalf of the mil campaign, to function in the cities, towns and workers' settlements throughout the land. The tasks undertaken by these volunteer groups will be to assist in the solicitation of funds, in the collection of pledges, and in visiting homes and businesses of persons refusing to contribute.

Each of these groups will also constitute a center for cultural activity by having a meeting-place which will be open evenings for informal and recreational programs in an atmosphere of creative Hebrew culture. The Department of Culture is directed to prepare a detailed plan of operation for these hugin. (67)

The writer feels that the Kinnus resolutions instigated some noteworthy action. The idea of the hugin caught the imagination of the organizers and the public, resulting in a wide program of these informal groups. The effect of the resolution calling for the reactivation of the Tel Aviv Culture Council was felt in the years to follow, particularly in 1946 when a rich program of culture and language teaching was in operation in that city. The attention directed toward the elimination of illiteracy undoubtedly stimulated the planning of basic education programs for olim from culturally deprived environments. The emphasis placed upon educating the soldiers is noted here for the first time and could be the precursor to the highly successful and diversified program of basic language and culture education in the Israeli Army (Tsahal). Each of these points will be treated in greater detail in subsequent chapters.



Chapter IX.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF LABOR

The labor movement in Eretz Yisrael had been the trail-blazer for the teaching of the Hebrew language and culture in the Yishuv. Its leaders insisted that the rebirth of the language was equal to the task of the redemption of the land and the creation of a just social order. Since 1917, the movement had been in the forefront in the development of the system of evening classes, teacher education, basic education for the masses and the obliteration of illiteracy among the ranks of labor and the public.

The Vaadat ha-tarbut, the Culture Centre of the Histadrut, prepared a comprehensive report of its activities during the first year of the Second World War, the year 1939/1940, which it submitted to the Executive Committee of the Histadrut.<sup>68</sup> The report stated that despite the problems arising from the war situation, the Centre had been able not only to maintain its established programs but in several instances to increase and expand its operations in the area of language and culture, particularly its activity in providing foundation education to the masses of workers. Mr. Abraham Levinson, Director of the Centre, continued the productive work of his predecessor, Yaacob Zondak, in the program of popular education.

During this year, a plan of limited cooperation was worked out between the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi and the Culture Centre of the Histadrut. The Centre transferred to the Department the responsibility of operating many of the evening classes which had been organized and maintained by the Centre. These classes represented the



"backbone" of all the classes in the rural communities and a substantial number of classes in Jerusalem and Haifa. The program consisted primarily in offering beginners' Hebrew to immigrant workers, although in many places advanced Hebrew classes were also operated. In the cities and moshavot, the program was supported financially by the executive workers' councils. The Culture Centre subsidized the operation. The only Histadrut activity which received financial support from the Department of Culture was the Workers' Teachers Training Institute.

The Culture Centre's report calls attention to its dissatisfaction with this arrangement:

We have found, to our dismay, that by leaving the operation of evening classes to the Department, we lost direct contact and relationship with many activities which are apparently not being attended, particularly those for the maapilin who require to learn at one and the same time language skills and studies in Judaism, Zionism and our labor movement. (69)

To correct this situation, the Histadrut dispatched five teachers and teaching supplies to five units of the maapilin. Furthermore, the evening classes of the Histadrut in the city of Tel Aviv remained under its own auspices. It appointed supervisors for these classes.

To ascertain the extent of its operation of evening classes in the land, and to obtain data on the programming in these classes, the Culture Centre of the Histadrut conducted a survey. Questionnaires were mailed to 190 locations. Returns were received from 156 locations.

The returned questionnaires indicated that 5167 students were receiving instruction in Hebrew. This enrollment was distributed in 331 classes meeting in 70 locations throughout the land. The results revealed that there was a greater number of persons requiring begin-



ning Hebrew in the cities and moshavot than in workers' settlements and kibbutzim. It was found that the majority of the students in the overall system of evening classes were members of the Histadrut.

There were from one to three classes in each location. In a number of locations there were between four and eight separate classes. In the cities and large moshavot, the number of individual classes was over ten. In Jerusalem, for example, there were 26 classes.

Generally, classes had enrollments of 10 to 15 students; occasionally, as many as 20 to 30 students. In a few places the size of the classes was deliberately kept small. In Afikim, for instance, there were 15 classes for 66 students; in Kibbutz Ha-maapil at Hedera, there were 20 classes for 80 students. Veteran Histadrut members served as teachers.

In addition to organizing classes, new methods of teaching the language were tried. In Rishon L'Zion a fifteen-minute siha preceded every public lecture, to correct faulty usages of the language and to teach technical terminology. To the latter end, the Vaad ha-Lashon (Academy of the Hebrew Language) published charts illustrating the use of this terminology. The periodical Hegah was read in the labor exchange, accompanied by the explanation of words, to immigrants from Western Europe. Charts urging "daber ka-halacha" (speak according to rules) were inserted regularly in the local schedules in many workers' settlements.

The other activities dealing with cultural and educational programming included: libraries; artistic programs--cultural evenings, socials, glee clubs, orchestra, group singing, exhibits, painting and sculpture; seminars and cultural circles; lectures; reading and dis-



play rooms; and schools for working youth.

In Tel Aviv the Culture Council conducted 23 classes for beginners, intermediates and advanced, with an enrollment of 500 students. Pedagogic sessions were held for the improvement of teaching methods, under the direction of Mr. Y. Shuval. The Histadrut found it necessary to reduce its financial assistance for the teaching of Hebrew, and this worked hardships on the Vaadat ha-tarbut, which was obliged to satisfy the language needs of the increasing number of unemployed, the new immigrants and the maapilin.

In Jerusalem, the evening classes were under the direction of the Department of Culture, but the supervision of the students' social programming remained under the Vaadat ha-tarbut.

In Haifa, the operation of the evening classes was transferred from the Vaadat ha-tarbut to the Department of Culture, during the mil campaign. Thirteen classes were conducted on Hadar ha-Carmel, three in Kiryat Haim, two in Tel Amal, eight in Kfar Atta. The total enrollment was 600. Hikes and socials were arranged for all students by the Vaadat ha-tarbut. Again, the report indicated that the co-operative effort between the Council and the Department toward a unified system had not brought satisfactory results, that the irregular and inadequate supply of funds from the mil campaign caused frequent interruptions in the studies, and that by the end of 1940/41 a drastic downgrade was noticeable.

In Petah Tikva there was an enrollment of 120 students. In Rehovot the Histadrut evening classes were transferred to the unified system, but the administrative supervision remained with the secretary of the Vaadat ha-tarbut, Mr. Y. Yovel. Ten classes were in operation



with a total enrollment of 250 students. Many of the teachers were volunteers. The report stated that because of the absence of a public spirit to motivate the speaking of Hebrew, it had been difficult to overcome the indifference of the language illiterates whose number had grown to several hundred in this moshava.<sup>70</sup>



Chapter X.

THE CENTRE FOR RELIGIOUS CULTURE IN ERETZ YISRAEL

The general orthodox community in Eretz Yisrael had not manifested an active interest in organizing classes for its adults in the Hebrew language and culture, although individual leaders favored the adoption of Hebrew as a spoken tongue.<sup>71</sup>

When the Vaad Leumi established the Department of Culture in 1936, the Mizrahi organization was represented by Rabbis Mordecai Ostrovsky and Abraham Hen. An important segment of the Eretz Yisrael population, heretofore unallied with the general effort to Hebraize the Yishuv, now joined in advancing the cause.

In the summer of 1939, the Merkaz le-tarbut datit, the Centre for Religious Culture in Eretz Yisrael, was established on the basis of an agreement between the World Mizrahi movement and the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi.

The aims of the Centre were to aid in the spiritual rebirth of the Jewish people in Eretz Yisrael by means of: 1) the dissemination of the Torah, oral and written, in all its developments and during all periods; cultural work and programming in the spirit of the Torah among Jewry which observes and guards the faith in the land; 2) the introduction of the light of the Torah and Judaism to all sectors of the Yishuv, in the cities and towns; 3) the establishment of proper forms of life and a Hebrew environment in the Yishuv on the Sabbath and on weekdays, at socials and at work, in the homes and in the streets--in accordance with the source of Israel culture and art; 4) the transmission of the Torah to the people, in a garb of sanctity,



in leshon hakhamim (the language of the wise), yet to be in accordance with modern pedagogy; and 5) special attention to the teaching of culture and religion to the shivte Yisrael, the tribes of Israel who reside in the land but who have come from lands of ancient origin, to the youth who are in search of a way of life, and to the "daughters of Israel who are timid yet industrious."<sup>72</sup>

Rabbi Abraham Hen headed the Centre. Dr. Haim Lipshutz served as the national supervisor of the Centre's evening classes and cultural activities. Mr. Evi Harkavi was the secretary of the Centre.

The distinctive features in the evening classes of the orthodox Centre were that the content was chiefly of a religious nature, that the teachers were religious, observant Jews, and that separate classes were conducted for men and women.

The Centre organized accelerated classes in kibbutzim and moshavim of Ha-poel ha-mizrahi: in Imunim at Nahalat Yehuda, in Kibbutz Rodges at Petah Tikvah, in Kvutzat Abraham at Kfar Pines, in Kvutzat Ramat ha-Sharon at Pardes Hana and in Kvutzat Herut at Hedera. It also joined with the Department of Culture in sponsoring the "travelling university" --a group of professors from the Hebrew University who volunteered to give lectures and courses in the smaller settlements.

On the fifth of Iyar, 1940, Rabbi Hen addressed a letter to Mr. D. Z. Pinkus, Director of the Municipal Department of Education and Culture in Tel Aviv, in which he requested an allocation of funds to support the evening classes under the Centre's auspices.<sup>73</sup> Rabbi Hen wrote that the Centre was conducting evening classes in Tanakh and Hebrew for an enrollment of thirty students who met three times a week. With additional funds, he said, these classes could be expanded to



include many maapilin who did not know Hebrew but who attended classes at the Labor Exchange of the Ha-poel ha-mizrachi every evening. Rabbi Hen expressed concern about the multitudinous languages spoken in Tel Aviv, and pointed to the great need to create a cultural climate which would stimulate a Hebrew way of life. He felt it would be desirable to teach the Torah through the medium of the Hebrew language to the mass inhabitants of the city, and especially to the immigrants and maapilin. "If we could become dedicated to this task," Rabbi Hen concluded, "we would transform the strongholds of Yiddish and foreign tongues to fortresses of strength for Hebrew."

A report submitted by Mr. J. Allsenberg, a teacher with the Centre for Religious Culture in Jerusalem, was found in the correspondence files of the Centre.<sup>74</sup> Mr. Allsenberg described his classes, which are probably typical of the classes conducted by the Centre at that time. One class met in a private home near a Yemenite synagogue. The seventeen students were all religious, married adults and members of the Avi-dor organization which continued the traditions of their rabbi from Yemen who had died several years before. The class met two evenings a week and Saturday afternoons. The attendance was very good. All of the students were able to read in the Yemenite dialect. Half of them could write a little and could read in the Sephardic pronunciation. The other half could not write at all, nor did they know any arithmetic or the concepts of the numerals. Their studies included Hebrew conversation, reading, writing and simple historical narratives.

Mr. Allsenberg's other classes met in the Ha-poel ha-mizrachi House in Jerusalem. There were eighteen students in the beginners'



class, most of whom were from the Yeshiva and the maapilim. They met three hours weekly and studied in the Alch text in addition to Hebrew conversation and grammar. The intermediate class met two hours weekly. Its curriculum included grammar and the Book of Isaiah.

A memorandum released by the Department of Culture to teachers in the system of evening classes in Jerusalem, was found in the files of the Centre for Religious Culture.<sup>75</sup> It listed the following classroom regulations and procedures:

1. A class is considered organized and complete if it is composed of at least twenty-five students.
2. Each class continues its sessions until the end of the season unless the number of students has dropped during the first 3½ months and its tuition income has fallen below 80 grush per month.
3. Every organized class elects a single representative or a committee of three, and acts with the teacher to maintain the class and to be responsible to the Department for its minimum income of tuition fees.
4. Small classes can combine into larger ones if the students agree.
5. Teachers are obliged to keep lesson plan books and submit these monthly to the inspector for his signature, and later to present them to the Department, at the conclusion of the season, with a detailed account of the learning progress.
6. Students must notify the Department promptly about any irregular event including illness, change of address, accidents, disturbances, and so on.
7. The teachers are obligated to participate in activities arranged by the Department for the student body (parties, socials, dramatic shows, hikes, graduations, etc.), and at pedagogic and organizational meetings for teachers, as well as exchange visitations at classes taught by their colleagues.
8. The Department consults with the supervisors of all trends in connection with class organization; opening, combining and closing of classes; and the engaging and dismissal of teachers.
9. The supervisors are permitted to visit classes under their administration, to inspect the lesson plan books and to call special teachers' meetings.
10. The teachers issue student tickets to their classes, entitling the students to the privilege of participating in different events—admission to theatre performances, acquisition of books, and so forth.

The memorandum added that three veteran teachers had been engaged to teach in the Centre's classes, each for ten hours weekly, and that the Department was responsible for their salaries.



Chapter XI.

PROGRAM OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, 1940-1942

A report was submitted to the Asefat ha-mivharim of the Knesset Yisrael by the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi describing the activities of the Department in the two-year period from Kislev, 1940, to Tevet, 1942.<sup>76</sup>

During these years a concerted effort was made to convene intensive pedagogic conferences and teacher meetings for adult language education. In Jerusalem and Haifa the seminars dealt with such problems as teaching material, basic Hebrew, the role of grammar in the evening classes, the organization and administration of evening classes and the general problem of promotion and public relations on behalf of these classes.

To draw the students in the evening classes closer to Zionist objectives and to civic and rebuilding activities, the Department launched a broad program of socials, meetings, concerts and lectures, whose goals were to familiarize the new immigrants and the older residents in the Yishuv with the enterprise of the rebirth of the nation, with its leading builders and its representative protagonists among the writers, scholars and political personalities. The central theme for this promotion was Ha-Yishuv, ma hu? ("The Yishuv -- What Is It?").

Among the specific undertakings were tours of the Kotel ha-maravi (the Western Wall) and other historical sites in old Jerusalem and its environs; hikes and tours to Har ha-Carmel in Haifa and other historical sites in that vicinity. Studies of archaeological findings suggested from passages in the Bible and later history were presented to group



meetings in urban and rural communities.

As a result of the Department's urging, lectures were arranged for employees during their working time. Municipalities and township councils, as well as professional literary groups, set aside time during the working day or at evening hours for cultural meetings at which a variety of subjects were discussed.

Such programming, the report stated, exerted a profound influence on the adjustment of the immigrants to the environment of the Yishuv and their acceptance of its aspirations for the rebirth of the homeland and the Hebrew language.

Student councils were organized on local and national levels, with the full agreement and participation of the students. These councils succeeded in attracting their classmates, who had studied Hebrew for over a year, to continue with their studies. To this end the Department set up, in cooperation with the Hitahdut Olei Germania and the Mishmar ha-tarbut, hugim and pinot (groups and circles) in the cities and moshavot to engage in lectures and sihot on the topics of Zionism and resettlement, on tozeret ha-aretz (products of the land) and the national funds.

The Department continued to operate classes for culturally-deprived youth and adults. Classes were given in the studies of Hebrew, arithmetic and civics, in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv (in Kerem ha-Temanim), Pethh Tikva, Tiberias, Rishon L'Zion, Rehovot and Kfar Atta. Because of its limited funds, the Department could not expand this service and only several hundred students attended these classes.

On October 22, 1941, a joint program was launched by the newly-formed Moatza ha-merkazit le-hashlatat ha-lashon ha-ivrit ba-yishuv



(the Central Council for the Intensification of the Hebrew Language in the Yishuv). This Moatza was constituted by representatives of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization and of the Vaad Leumi. Its purpose was to further the objectives of the Department of Culture in all areas of its operation. At the first meeting of the Moatza the following resolutions were passed:

To bring about a complete conquest of the Hebrew language by the masses, we hereby authorize the Department of Culture to double the network of classes for Hebrew in the land, to eliminate illiteracy among the masses, and to oppose vigorously any violation or infringement upon the Hebrew language wherever it takes place and by whomever it is committed.

To implement these purposes, the Department may develop whatever promotion or defense strategy it deems necessary... in order to have a full conquest of the Hebrew language in the Yishuv. (77)

In Jerusalem and its environs, in Haifa and the Kiryat, in Tel Aviv and its districts, and in forty additional locations, with the financial help and moral encouragement of the Moatza, a record enrollment of over 7,000 students was reached in the evening classes in 1941. There were 409 organized classes which were taught by 109 teachers. These figures included the classes conducted by the Orthodox Culture Centre, of which there were 21 groups in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and the villages, besides the classes for the study of Torah in the synagogues and chapels.<sup>78</sup>

It was estimated that the cost per pupil of the overall program was one lira per year, and because of this relatively high cost, it became necessary to charge tuition fees. At times, teachers and supervisors were requested to work extra hours without compensation.

Through the encouragement of the Department of Culture, the local municipal councils, the volunteers among the teachers through their



Mishmar ha-tarbut, and the organized workers of the Friends of the Hebrew Language succeeded in attracting over 5,000 persons to their diversified program of cultural and artistic activities. Among these was a gala national event in memory of Yehuda Halevi, conducted with the cooperation and personal assistance of Rabbi Abraham Hen, the Director of the Orthodox Culture Centre. There were also city-wide celebrations and observances of Hanuka, Purim and Lag be-Omer.

Specific programs were developed by the Moatza intended to encourage the widespread use of Hebrew and at the same time to discourage the incursion of foreign languages. The major project was the proclamation of a Hebrew Day. Announcements appeared in the newspapers, and in the bulletins of labor exchanges and factories, to speak only Hebrew on a designated day. Similarly, directives went to the elementary schools, high schools and student councils, to the evening classes and workers' cultural meetings, to speak, to negotiate and to report only in Hebrew. The Hitahdut Olei Germania was urged to publicize the Hebrew Day and to direct all its constituents to speak Hebrew at home and in business; The rabbis and lecturers of the orthodox community were requested to deliver their sermons in Hebrew. The appeal was carried to advertising agencies to write their copy for newspapers, billboards and commercial signs only in Hebrew; to industry to feature Hebrew on their commercial items; to movie houses to eliminate the use of German from the screen; to government agencies, particularly the Knesset Yisrael, to avoid the use of German in its debates and memoranda; to storekeepers to advertise their products and to print their signs only in Hebrew.

Despite all this promotion, the report concluded, tens of thousands of the people did not heed or respond to the call.



The Yishuv has not yet realized its obligation to stamp out the use of foreign languages in its daily life...Yet we are convinced that the time will come when the masses will thirst for Hebrew...when the great aliya which will reach our shores in the near future will take unto itself the yoke of the Hebrew language...Toward that day let us be prepared. (79)



Chapter XII.

NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON EDUCATION OF ADULTS

On September 8 and 9, 1943, a national symposium was convened at the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem, under the joint sponsorship of the Hebrew University, the Department of Education of the Knesset Yisrael and the Federation of Teachers. Professor Leon Roth, Rector of the Hebrew University, served as Chairman.<sup>80</sup>

In his opening address, Professor Roth explained that the purpose of the convocation was to examine the prevailing situation of adult language and culture education in the Yishuv, as well as that of Jewish education in the Diaspora; to determine the areas of success and failure, and to make recommendations for future programming.<sup>81</sup>

Professor Ben Zion Dinur (formerly Dinanburg) spoke on the "Dissemination of General and Hebrew Culture in the Land" among the adults. He stressed the urgency for deliberate and purposeful action, stating that the Yishuv must recognize that its destiny lies in becoming "intellectually and spiritually mature" and that not only a suitable climate of opinion but a dedicated effort were necessary to bring about this maturity. He said that the Torah culture was effective among the Jews in all generations by virtue of the education of the children, but that the influence and validity of this culture came as a result of adult Torah learning through the hevrot en yaakov, mishnayot, shas, agada, haye adam, tehilim, parashat ha-shavua and musar. Professor Dinur indicated the need for a central organization to carry out these informal educational activities. He proposed the establishment of a National Centre for Popular Education and Culture to be sponsored by



those public agencies which had been engaged in the education of adults. Specifically, he named the three sponsors of the Symposium to constitute the directorship of the Centre, in cooperation with the local cultural and educational bodies. He listed three areas in which the Centre would function:

- 1) In formulating projects and programs for hugim, clubs, courses and seminars; in preparing bibliographies and professional and mechanical catalogues; in publishing books; in organizing libraries; and in appointing committees and individual inspectors to supervise the operation.
- 2) In providing a teacher-education program, to be carried out by the Hebrew University; in organizing special courses and recruiting suitable candidates for such courses; in re-training those persons who already were, or had been, active in this work.
- 3) In establishing an organizational procedure for local culture and education committees to cooperate with the national endeavor in determining local needs; in setting up appropriate hugim and offering financial aid.

Dr. Moshe Soloveichick, Director of the Department of Education of the Knesset Yisrael, expressed his reservations about the proposed Centre. He felt that it might supplant the various local and national organizations which were already attempting to do this work.

Mr. David Levin, President of the Federation of Teachers, agreed with the recommendation for the establishment of a National Centre, but felt that it should be sponsored by the Knesset Yisrael and not by the Hebrew University. His reason was that the Hebrew University is a scientific and research institution which should not undertake a program of folk education. He felt that such a Centre should have



authority and should eliminate divisiveness in the cultural program for adults. "This divisiveness," he said, "is one of the worst plagues from which we are suffering. Because many bodies are attending to it, it is frequently a case where the work is not being done by anyone."

Mr. Berl Katznelson, a leading spirit in the rejuvenation of the Hebrew language in the Yishuv (see Part One), underscored the need for competent teachers for adults, teachers who possess zeal and love for people and their education. He deplored the fact that neither the public nor the government considered a total program of adult education as its duty, in the way that they considered vital public services. He called for a national movement to educate the nation, "not by lectures or by trips, however educational they may be, but by study in schools and in seminars, and not for brief periods, but for periods of months...where the teacher is really equipped to teach."

In his remarks, Mr. Katznelson shed light upon the recurring problem of inadequate financing of adult language and culture education in the Yishuv. According to him, it was not always the lack of funds which kept the program from developing in the proper dimensions, but the self-interest of national organizations and individuals who jockeyed for positions of prominence to the detriment of the Hebraization of the Yishuv. He said:

There were times after the First World War when demands were made of the Zionist Organization to educate the people, stating that in the process of resettlement and adjustment to life in the homeland the education of the people is a most vital need...that the Hebrew language for adults is of primary consideration. Those who made such demands of the Zionist Organization were men and women affiliated with "parties"...and because the cause was advanced by "party" people, those forces antagonistic to the party fought against such vital national needs, resulting in the abandonment of evening language programs and other cultural activities initially undertaken by the Zionist Organization...and resulting



in the removal from the Organization of budget responsibilities... Those people then gave a sigh of relief and washed their hands from supporting language and culture in the homeland... (82)

Professor Martin Buber laid down the principles by which an Adult Centre should be guided in its educational and spiritual philosophy, particularly in regard to its faculty. Professor Buber stated that the school must have as its primary aim the development of a relationship of "mutuality" between the teacher and his students--a relationship in which both learn from each other and both teach each other. This relationship must be based on understanding, humility and dedication. "The stamp of distinction in education for adults," said Professor Buber, "is ha-dadiyut (mutuality)."

It should be noted that at the time this discussion took place (1943) the theoretical aspects of the Centre's philosophy were accentuated. When later, under Professor Buber's direction, the Bet Sefer Le-More Am was operating (1949-1953; see Part Three), this hadadiyut was not the only mark of distinction in the education of adults. It gradually had to give up its dominance of the program in favor of the more practical goal of developing competence in teaching methods and skills, much to the dissatisfaction of Professor Buber.

Dr. David Marani, then Supervisor of Evening Hebrew Language and Culture classes for the Haifa Workers' Federation and still one of the most earnest workers in behalf of adult language and culture education in the State of Israel<sup>83</sup>, favored the national project of organizing a folk culture centre under the auspices of the Hebrew University. In his talk before the Symposium, he stressed the basic needs of teaching the adult olim and watikim how to speak and read the Hebrew language. Without these fundamental skills, he said, the wide cultural project



which was under discussion by the Symposium would be to no avail, for a vast portion of the people could not take advantage of its benefits. He also underscored the importance of teaching the language to members of the oriental communities.

The individuals who took part in the deliberations of the Symposium were among those who were in the vanguard of adult Hebrew language and culture education and teacher training in the transition years before the establishment of the State of Israel, and in the years that followed. They included Dr. David Marani, Professor Ben Zion Dinur and Professor Martin Buber. The ideas brought forth at the Symposium eventually led to vital programs in this field.

Although the idea for specialized teacher education for teachers of adults was not new to the Symposium -- it had originated in the late 1930's with the summer seminars under the auspices of the Department of Culture -- it was again revived at this time and came to fruition with the establishment of the Bet Sefer Le-More Am in 1949.

Similarly, the idea of intensive language education, as advocated by Berl Katznelson, became a challenging objective. It flowered with the organization of the intensive language and culture programs in the ulpanim, in which a basic course included classes for five hours a day, six days a week, over a five-month period, for a total of 600 hours.



Chapter XIII.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE EDUCATION APPRAISED

In the July-August 1944 issue of Hed ha-hinukh, published by the Federation of Teachers, there appeared an appraisal of language and culture education for adult immigrants and watikim by Dr. Hanokh Darotz, Supervisor of Evening Classes in the Judah communities.<sup>84</sup> This was the first time in twenty years that either of the two professional teachers' magazines (Hed ha-hinukh and Ha-hinukh) had devoted space to such an article. The last time had been in 1924, when Mr. M. Y. Polonsky analyzed the problems and accomplishments of the adult language education program in the Yishuv in Ha-hinukh (see Part I, p. 41). The fact that no other professional review of this subject had appeared during such a long period of time would seem to indicate a neglect even on the part of the Federation of Teachers to promote interest in the program of language and culture education for the masses. It also points up the lack of recognition given to teachers of adults by the profession.

In his article, Dr. Darotz stated that the national agencies and organizations which had undertaken to establish and finance evening language classes had not succeeded in making the strides and progress to which they had aspired, or even in arousing a sufficient public interest in the learning of the language. As a result, a large proportion of the adult olim and watikim who needed to learn the language had not been given the opportunities or the stimulation to attend classes. He excluded from this large segment the small group of olim who had come to the land because of their Zionist ideologies and therefore considered it their duty to acquire the knowledge of the Hebrew



language in order to become absorbed into the Yishuv and to live a complete Hebrew life.

The complex problems of teacher recruitment and education received particular attention in Dr. Darotz's evaluation. He deplored the fact that the majority of the teachers engaged in the evening classes actually had received their education in seminaries for elementary education, and therefore did not possess the methods or approach necessary for teaching adults. He pointed out that the adult student comes to class after a day's work, that he is loaded down with livelihood problems for his family, and cannot be as alert or keen in absorbing information as a child can. He comes seeking stimulation by the teacher, and if the teacher is unable to provide it, both the lesson and the learner achieve a minus record. Dr. Darotz stressed, therefore, the importance of engaging competent teachers to teach adults. The teachers must devote ample time to preparation; they must make the lesson exciting and interesting, bearing in mind that the composition of the class is heterogeneous from the aspects of age, literacy and cultural background. Frequently, the age range is forty years, with students of twenty sitting alongside students of sixty and over. (See Dr. Kamrat's analysis of the age problem in Ulpan Etzion, Part III.)

Dr. Darotz discussed the problems associated with the time of day when instruction is given to adults, the number of hours per week, and the heavy load carried by the teachers. The hours of work for evening classes are limited, he said, and can begin, at best, at seven o'clock in the evening and continue until nine or nine-thirty, four or five days a week. The total number of hours for a teacher's employment is from ten to twelve hours a week, a condition which places great econo-



mic hardships upon the teacher, particularly if he has a family to support. From a pedagogic point of view, Dr. Darotz stated, a program of instruction of ten to twelve hours a week can hardly be considered sufficient to provide maximum language education, particularly for eager and inquisitive students who keep asking and demanding explanations and illustrations. They want to be able to speak flawlessly and write and read accurately, in a brief period; they want to be able to read a Hebrew news paper and the literary sources. While it is commendable and encouraging to have such a caliber of students, Dr. Darotz wondered how the teacher can carry this heavy load, even if he were among the most competent in the field of Jewish education.

Dr. Darotz decried the fact that few, if any, individuals or groups came to the aid of the teacher in terms of supplying him with suitable textbooks, or assuring him fixed income, or according him the professional status and treatment given to teachers in elementary or high schools. The teacher, he stated, must be the architect and the builder of proper lessons, textbooks and teaching aids. Beginners' classes, in particular, were affected by the dearth of suitable textual material. The books available were either designed for children or for adults with a different background. For intermediate and advanced classes there was not available even a poor textbook, especially in the subjects of grammar and syntax.

Dr. Darotz concluded his appraisal of conditions by stating:

Shall we impose upon the teacher to find answers and solutions to all these problems? Can we expect such a responsibility from a part-time teacher? Is it any wonder that teachers in small numbers will agree to assume this problem task called evening classes for the Hebrew language?

...It is our opinion that we need to mobilize immediately the best pedagogic forces available in our land, and impress upon



them the urgency of finding solutions to this difficult educational problem...

The Federation of Teachers must also enter into this complicated problem and exert its full effort to improve the social and economic position of the teacher at the evening language classes.

(85)

Dr. Darotz's critique of language and culture education for adult immigrants and watikin was valid in the light of conditions prevailing in 1944. He pinpointed many of the weaknesses inherent in the program. Ultimately, and especially after the establishment of the State of Israel, the elimination of these weaknesses became the target for educators and government.



Chapter XIV.

ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE IN THE YEARS 1943-1946

In 1943, thirteen thousand olim came to Eretz Yisrael. The same number entered the land in 1944. Many of the new immigrants were escapees from the Nazi extermination camps. Special attention was given to these olim, particularly in offering them the opportunity to learn the Hebrew language and culture.<sup>86</sup>

In 1943 and 1944 there was a reduction in the number of students enrolled in the evening classes. However, beginning with the fall of 1945, a definite change for the better took place in the activities of the Department of Culture. The executive administration of the Vaad Leumi approved an increase in its allocation to the Department. The first attempt by the Vaad Leumi was to double its allocation, then it decided to triple it and through its intervention with the Jewish Agency, the Agency allocated an additional amount equalling two-and-one-half times its former grant. Moreover, the contributions by individual persons to the cause of culture and education were increased.<sup>87</sup>

A. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE EDUCATION.

The Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi conducted a survey in January, 1945, to determine the enrollment in the nation's system of evening classes, the number of teachers engaged in the instruction, the number of class units and the number of locations at which the classes were held. In February, 1946, a similar survey was conducted by the Department. The results of these surveys are tabulated below.



TABLE V. THE SYSTEM OF EVENING CLASSES IN THE LAND (JAN. 1945 & FEB. 1946)<sup>88</sup>

Central Areas	Enrollment		Teachers		Classes		Locations	
	1945	1946	1945	1946	1945	1946	1945	1946
Jerusalem	927	1027	19	28	54	66	22	24
Tel Aviv	1979	2051	25	50	159	136	43	35
Haifa	318	532	18	20	31	41	14	12
Judah	520	659	22	25	44	51	13	12
Sharon	456	640	26	12	47	59	10	11
TOTAL	4200	4909	110	135	335	353	102	94

The conclusions of the surveys noted an increase in enrollment of 17% between 1945 and 1946, and a 23% increase in the number of teachers employed, thereby affording the opportunity of better gradation. The number of locations for the classes was reduced in 1946 even though the enrollment was greater. The survey revealed that 37% of the students were new olim who had entered the land in the preceding two years. They came from twenty countries, in the following breakdown: the majority were from West and Central Europe; the next largest number came from East European countries—Turkey, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece; the remaining olim came from lands in Eastern Asia and North Africa.

The survey disclosed that 40 hugim were in operation for the purpose of offering advanced study to olim who had mastered the fundamentals of the language, and to persons who had resided in the land for a number of years but who had no prior opportunity to study Hebrew formally. In Jerusalem, 13 hugim were meeting; in Tel Aviv, there



were 20 hugim and the remaining seven were in other parts of the land. The course of study consisted mainly of ancient and modern Hebrew literature, Tanakh, Talmud, Midrash, Agada and other sources of Judaica. The language of instruction and discussion was only Hebrew. In the 1945/46 year, the number of students attending these hugim reached 650.

Another activity indicated in the survey, and operated by the Department of Culture, was the program for the improvement of Hebrew language usage. Two hundred persons availed themselves of this program. Included among them were teachers, clerks, attorneys, skilled workers, and laborers. A special seminar, the fourth annual one, was held for the office staff of the Tel Aviv municipality, to which 25 persons came. Similar seminars were held in 1945/46 in Petah Tikva and Rishon L'Zion.

The Department of Culture reported its involvement in other activities related to the teaching of the language, but not during the hours customarily assigned to evening classes. These included formal meetings and socials for teachers and students, onegi Shabat, gatherings on Friday evenings, Rosh Hodesh meetings and Festival parties. In addition, hikes and trips were conducted to all parts of the land; theatre parties to Habimah and Ohel performances were arranged; guided tours were organized to exhibits, art displays and the Jewish National Fund forums; study afternoons and evenings were set up at which current events were discussed from the Hebrew newspapers; and public mock trials were held. Noted artists, guides and lecturers participated in all of these events.

#### B. FOLK FOUNDATION EDUCATION AND CULTURE.

The Department report included a description of cultural activities conducted in different neighborhoods in Jerusalem among the various



ethnic groups, especially the youth of the Near East communities. Clubs were operated for new immigrants from Afghanistan and Chad, in the Yemenite Avi-David section of the old city and in Nahalat Ahim, for the purpose of offering fundamental education in Hebrew and general studies to the youth of these groups. Financial aid was extended by the Department to the Bet Ha-am in Jerusalem, the cultural committee of the Jerusalem Workers' Council, the women's organization WIZO, Junior WIZO, the Organization of Working Mothers, the Organization of Baale Melakha, the Menorah Club and the Tuberculosis Sanatorium in Mekor Haim. Over 1,000 persons benefited from the cultural activities provided through the help of teachers and lecturers, and especially by the service of the men in the Department.

In the Tel Aviv area, the Department increased its normal activities and added new ones. Cultural programming was provided for immigrants from Germany, Russia and Czechoslovakia. The Culture Club, Bet Yisrael, was utilized for these activities. Approximately 150 persons availed themselves of the educational opportunities offered them. Oneg Shabat, Shabat study periods in the afternoon and evening figured among the most popular activities. In the Kadimah Club, attended mostly by Sephardic residents and new immigrants, lectures and Shabat sermons were given; talks with the aid of slides were presented every evening, attracting over 200 persons at each showing. In cooperation with the Parents' Council of the Bilu School evening parties and informal talks and dances were organized on Shabat afternoons. The General Zionist Association assisted in conducting Oneg Shabat socials, attracting large audiences.

In Haifa, the cultural activities were organized chiefly in a



program of bi-monthly Musafe la-Shabat in Hadar ha-Carmel, Har ha-Carmel and in Bat Galim. The subjects discussed were of relevance to current situations, political news, literary topics, Jewish history, Jewish festivals, and so forth. At every Musaf, two lecturers shared the platform. Occasionally an art exhibit was brought to the public, and to each of the events hundreds of persons came. The Department's office in Haifa assisted in implementing the cultural programming undertaken by the Culture Councils of Kiryat Bialik, Kiryat Motzkin, Nahariya and Tel Amal.

The Department functioned in the rural districts of the Judea and Sharon regions encompassing 77 locations. In the Galilee moshavot, the union of farmers cooperated with the Department in arranging cultural and educational activities for new immigrants. In Tiberias, the Department renewed its cultural program after a lapse of two years, because during this period no Central committee was operating.

The cultural work among the Orthodox groups was stepped up under the direction of Rabbi Abraham Hen. Large mass memorial meetings commemorating the tenth anniversary of Rabbi Kook's death were held in all the major cities. Study groups in Talmud were established. At synagogues and batei midrash, and especially in the Bet Midrash ha-Rambam, the Hebrew cultural activity was augmented.

The daily reading in the Tanakh, begun by the Department of Culture in 1940, was given a boost by the national radio hour which presented a daily chapter reading by the popular young announcer A. Bartonov. The Yishuv responded enthusiastically to the Tanakh readings. Tens of thousands of listeners were reported to tune in to this program.

In the month of Menahem Av, 1945, the Department observed "Tchor-



niehovsky Month." Special literary meetings were held in all parts of the land, devoted to presenting the contributions of the famous author and poet. Artists read from his poetry and discussed the literary genius of his writings.

Special attention was given to families of soldiers. The Department made provision for the education and recreation of the wives and children of the enlisted men. Trips and tours were arranged. Theatre parties and visits to art exhibits and concerts were scheduled.

Among the youth groups in the land the Department was especially active, arranging lectures, discussions and debates, in Jerusalem, Haifa, Tiberias, Petah Tikva, Rehovot, Ramat Gan, Binyamina, Kfar Saba and the settlement at the Dead Sea Works. The topics of the lectures were: Hopes of Israel's Redemption, Folk Origins of Jewish Courage, The Meaning of Israel Culture and Civilization, and The Brave and Brave in the Tanakh.

On the basis of an arrangement with the Organization of Rest Homes and Hotels, special cultural activities were organized for the thousands of guests. The Department commissioned guides and entertainers to visit the establishments and set up suitable programs for their patrons.

An activity of significant value in the appreciation of books was organized by the Department in cooperation with librarians and book publishers. Existing libraries were given additional books. Six new libraries were opened. Five thousand volumes were distributed. Library courses in cataloguing and book selection were given by veteran librarians under the direction of Dr. Haim bar Dayan, who travelled to isolated points to give guidance in setting up shelves and cataloguing books.



The Department commissioned the noted musician, Jehoshua Stetshevsky, to reorganize the section of Jewish music appreciation. Mr. Stetshevsky collected and compiled old and modern Hasidic melodies, and wrote arrangements for voice, piano and violin. He lectured and gave workshops on Jewish music and Hebrew songs that could be sung and played by the masses.

The Makhelet Shem, organized by the Department of Culture in 1937, continued to function under the direction of Mr. M. Lampel. The chorus appeared on radio and before live audiences, presenting classical and folk music, Hasidic melodies, religious songs and chants, and Hebrew songs written by local composers.

#### C. PROMOTION OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

To maintain vigilance for the acceptance and use of the Hebrew language in the land, the Section of Language and Culture of the Department of Culture publicized a "Week of Language and Culture" on the radio, at lectures and meetings, in advertisements in the newspapers, and on kiosks (news-stands) and wall placards. Urban and rural divisions of the Knesset issued a call to all residents, urging them to heed the message of the Language Week. On the Sabbath of Succot, and during Hol ha-moed Succot, mass meetings were held in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Petah Tikva, Bnei Brak, Ramat Gan, Givatayim, Rishon L'Zion, Rehovot, Gederah, Herzliya, Netanya, Raanana, Ramat ha-Shem, Kfar Shmaryahu, Hadar, Ramat Hadar, Kiryat Motzkin and Kfar Atta. Also on this Sabbath, Rabbis and rabbaim delivered sermons in thirty-three synagogues in Tel Aviv on the significance and religious injunction of teaching and speaking the Hebrew language. At all the mass meet-



ings in Jerusalem, the speakers stressed the vital need for the Hebrew language. At twenty-two cinemas, special films were shown promoting the Hebrew language and the Hebrew book.

On the second day of Hol ha-moed Succot, 1945, a National Conference on Language and Culture was called to consider the problems associated with the efforts to fully achieve the nationalization of the Hebrew language.<sup>89</sup> Eighty representatives from all cultural, religious and labor groups in the land participated. The local and outside press sent their representatives and reporters. The conference went into a second day of deliberations. The following resolutions were presented:

1. The Conference demands of the national organizations to view the problem of the Hebrew language as primary in the political and cultural upbuilding of the homeland. In pursuance of this demand, it calls upon these organizations to place at the disposal of such language and culture projects allocation of funds commensurate with the needs.

Furthermore, the Conference urges the Elected Assembly of the Knesset Yisrael to pass a Hebrew language law in the land, such a law to spell out clearly and precisely the rights of the language and the requirements for its preservation from within (in Eretz Yisrael) and from without (in other lands).

2. The Conference demands that the top agencies put an immediate stop to foreign language newspapers, and it urges the appointment of a special committee to work out the details for such action.

3. The Conference demands that the Department of Immigration of the Jewish Agency shall include in its budget a cultural allocation which shall provide funds to teach every new immigrant the Hebrew language, and to set up the needed surroundings for cultural absorption; that this assistance be given to the Department of Culture in order that the new immigrant feel secure in receiving language instruction until he is absorbed into the life of the community.

Similarly, the Conference urges every other immigration association to activate their memberships into the learning of the Hebrew language.

4. The Conference demands from all commercial, industrial and professional enterprises to cease immediately all publicity in foreign language—a means they employed during the war years.



Simultaneously, the Conference calls upon every supplier and distributor to insist upon publicity and advertisement in Hebrew when buying the products.

At the conclusion of the Conference, a meeting of lecturers and speakers on behalf of the Hebrew language was convened at Kfar Shmar-yahu. Sixty-four of the most noted lecturers from all groupings met. Professor Abraham Halevi Fraenkel and Dr. J. Wolfsberg spoke on the basic challenges of cultural activity among the masses. The questions posed were related to aims and methods. Should culture be transmitted by lectures, or in small hugim? Shall there be a lecturer or a discussion leader? Shall the aims be to communicate tradition or the current situation, and what function should art assume in this undertaking?

Other activities on behalf of the Hebrew language included the following:

1. The weekly Hebrew magazine and its free distribution to all homes. Twenty-five thousand copies of this informative magazine were distributed to all homes in cities and villages by a corps of youths organized for this purpose by the Department of Culture.
2. Hebrew Book Day. The local publishers announced a Hebrew Book Day, to be held on Hoshana Raba. Its slogan was: "Every home buys a Hebrew book in honor of Simhat Torah." Publishers gave the readers listings of all books, as well as a complete schedule of places and hours of all evening language classes conducted by the Department and by the Histadrut.
3. The Tanakh Day. The public was urged to read a chapter of Tanakh every day. Specific chapters were suggested.
4. Newspaper promotion. The Davar printed an editorial on the front



page expressing the message of the Department of Culture and giving an account of all the activities in connection with the vigilant efforts on behalf of the Hebrew language. Hatsofeh, Haaretz and Yediot Aharonot printed editorials and commentaries on the revitalization of the Hebrew language and culture in the land. The radio gave time to periodic announcements on the proceedings of the Hebrew Language Week.

5. Department Releases and Publications. Beginning October, 1945, the Department published in stenciled form a release entitled "New and Issues of Our Hebrew Language," reporting on newspaper reactions to the dissemination of the Hebrew language in the land. In Haifa, the Department Division issued a weekly sheet entitled "Our Platform," purporting to "guide the Hebrew spirit and climate for life in the homeland," as well as giving information on activities conducted in the province of language and culture in the city and in the land.

6. Youth Recruitment for Promotion of the Hebrew Language. Following the decision by the Youth Commission of the Zionist Organization to recruit the nation's youth for service to the Hebrew language and culture in the homeland, in cooperation with the Department of Culture, a concerted drive was made to organize the youth in the Yishuv. The nature of the youth program involved their participation in bringing to every home in the land the message of the Hebrew language by encouraging the people to study Hebrew and to use the language at all times. Special kits containing information and instruction on how to proceed were distributed to the youth. These kits contained the Department's literature and directions for how and where to register for evening classes.



D. CONCLUSIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT'S REPORT.

Notwithstanding the fact that much activity was being performed by the Department in manifold directions and areas, the report stated that the needs were too numerous and pressing to be fulfilled by the existing services and available funds. The following statement reflects the problems faced by the Department of Culture in its attempt to Hebraize the Yishuv:

We recognize that this is a land of immigration, and its population will continually be increased. Our new immigrants are scattered at every point in the land. We must follow them by organizing evening language classes, then we must provide them with textbooks. We have a serious shortage of teachers qualified to teach Hebrew to adults. We need pedagogic literature for the teachers. We must have adequate vocabulary and terminology to meet the most modern needs, and this is to be supplied us by the Language Academy, and distributed among the masses. We must make a concerted effort to have persons change their foreign names into Hebrew names. We must make a conquest of the Galil and Shomron for our Hebrew language and culture. We must concentrate our efforts to offer more effective educational opportunities to oriental and Near Eastern adults and youth. We must expand our services to local, regional and national libraries. We must be concerned to raise the standards of our neighborhood and folk centres and effect a cooperative relationship with the many cultural centres in the land. We must continue to forge ahead with our efforts to bring cultural enlightenment into our synagogues and batei midrash (study houses). We should devote our energies to develop the arts in Hebrew.

All these programs demand a dedicated approach by our national agencies, and huge funds to be supplied by them. Only when the Yishuv regards itself as the instrumentality to provide these needs by serving as an uncompromising fighter for the rights of the Hebrew language, will we see a development of our language and culture such as we have not witnessed before. (90)



Chapter XV.

PROMOTION OF HEBREW LANGUAGE AND CULTURE EDUCATION BY THE ORTHODOX COMMUNITY

The conquest of the Hebrew language in Eretz Yisrael was accomplished in the main by the non-religious segments of the Yishuv -- the Histadrut, the Education Department of Knesset Yisrael, the Zionist Organization, the municipalities and Local Authorities, and the Land-shaft groups. Nevertheless, here and there, strong advocates from the orthodox community arose to encourage the use of Hebrew and to urge that the Hebrew language become the folk tongue in Eretz Yisrael. Their emphasis, however, was always upon the language and culture with a religious orientation.

A. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FAITHFUL JUDAISM FOR ORTHODOX CULTURE AND THE SACRED TONGUE.<sup>91</sup>

On the evening of the seventh day of Hanuka, 1946, an "extraordinary convocation" was held in the Jeshurun Synagogue in Jerusalem. The National Convention of Faithful Judaism for Orthodox Culture and the Sacred Tongue was called by the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi in cooperation with the Centre of Orthodox Culture and Language Education of Eretz Yisrael and its director, Rabbi Abraham Hen.

Dr. Haim Lipshutz, administrative secretary of the Centre and coordinator of the convention, described the colorful assemblage as one which included bearded scholars garbed in their rabbinic attire, rabbis of the oriental communities dressed in flowing garments, writers and poets of renown, teachers and academicians, noted public figures, Yeshiva students and youth leaders of the Hapoel Hamizrachi, and a



large number of young people devoted to Torah and the orthodox life.

The purposes of the Convention were set forth as follows:<sup>92</sup>

1. To define the holy character of orthodox culture in Eretz Yisrael and the nation's responsibility to preserve and defend it.
2. To implant this culture as the conscience of Judaism—in its world outlook and its way of life—in all streams of life in the Yishuv, public, family and private.
3. To proclaim the urgency to study and know the written and oral Law in all its branches of knowledge and at every place in the homeland.
4. To disseminate the knowledge of the holy tongue in the religious and daily life of the Yishuv—when studying Torah, when performing labors on the farms and in business, and especially when praying and studying in the synagogues.

In his opening remarks to the Convention, Rabbi Hen expressed the hope that the convention would bring about a radical change in the life of the Yishuv. He noted the awakening in certain circles of a desire to return to the sources of the Jewish people, and he asserted that this renewed faith and interest must be kept alive by providing the people with the opportunity of studying the "Holy Writ in our Holy Tongue."<sup>93</sup>

The two scheduled main speakers at the convention were Rabbi Yitzhak Isaac Halevi Herzog, Chief Rabbi of Eretz Yisrael, and Rabbi David Toledano, Chief Rabbi of Tel Aviv. Rabbi Toledano refuted those who argued that Hebrew was a dead language, like Latin. Anyone who compares the Hebrew language, before its rebirth in daily speech, to the Latin language, testifies to his ignorance, Rabbi Toledano said. Latin was a petrified language, a language of dry scholars. They did



not sing in it; they did not express their longings in it; they did not live in it a vibrant life. But this was never so with the Hebrew language, which was always the language of the heart and the soul of the chosen of the Jewish people. In the present generation it had become also a language of daily conversation. Rabbi Toledano pointed out that only among the orthodox Jewish community, which had persisted in speaking Yiddish, had there been stiff resistance to accepting the Hebrew language. He voiced the hope that the orthodox Jews in the Yishuv would adopt the language in its entirety and would use it in daily conversation.<sup>94</sup>

Rabbi Herzog could not attend the convention because of illness. He sent a message, addressed to Rabbi Abraham Hen, which was read to the assembly by Dr. Lipshutz. In it, he expressed the wish that the convention would endear the speaking of the Hebrew language to all circles of God-fearing men of Torah in the holy land. Rabbi Herzog recalled the significance that the Hebrew language had for the sages of Israel, "to whom intercourse in the holy tongue was a blessing and an injunction, and who preached that the tongue is eternal as is the people who speak it."<sup>95</sup>

Rabbi Meir Berlin, President of the World Mizrahi Movement, was also prevented by illness from attending the convention. In his message, he bemoaned the fact that there were men of culture and learning engaged in promoting the cause of the Hebrew language who, nevertheless, "cannot conceive of the Torah and the Tradition as the fountainhead of the Jewish nation." What is left of their cultural endeavors, he said, is the language alone and not the content; the spirit and knowledge of the Torah must be present to lend the unique character and personality



of the Jewish people to the Hebrew language. Rabbi Berlin called upon orthodox Jewry to unite behind the national efforts and, with the aid of the Hebrew language, to effect a rebirth in the homeland.<sup>96</sup>

Rabbi Eliyahu Divik Hacohen, Dean of Rabbis, also sent a message which was read to the convention. He stated that an extreme emergency existed in the Yishuv because of the "babel of tongues." He described the pain felt by a Sephardi Jew who enters an Ashkenazi synagogue and cannot understand the words of the preacher because of the artificial barrier of the Yiddish language. "This language," he said, "has no antecedents or validity in our culture, as do not all the other jargons that are imported into our holy land." He pleaded for the convention to evolve ways and means of "ridding ourselves of this foreign plague and jargon curse in our land," and to immediately organize classes to disseminate Torah literature and the Hebrew language.<sup>97</sup>

Other speakers at the convention included Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel, Director of the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi; Mr. M. Levanon, President of the Yeshurun Synagogue; Rabbi Sh. Y. Zevin, editor of the Talmudic Encyclopedia; Rabbi Mordechai Ostrovsky, director of the Jerusalem adult and youth Mizrahi; Dr. Sh. Z. Kahana of the Hapoel Hamizrahi; Mr. Mordechai Leover of the B'nai Akiba; Moses Segal of the Brit Ha-hashmonaim; and Rabbi Y. Meshorer of the Yemenite community.

Dr. Haim Lipshutz summarized the messages of the speakers by indicating that the significant points raised were those of returning to Torah and orthodox learning through the medium of the Hebrew language, and by joining with the Yishuv in the efforts to rehabilitate the new olim "in the spirit of holiness." No resolutions were presented or passed at this convention. Dr. Lipshutz explained to the



writer that orthodox Jewry in Eretz Yisrael was basically opposed to "promises" and "resolutions," as these are man-made and rely only upon human effort to carry them out. "We feel, however, that God's aid is enjoined at every step in our lives, and when men of God exhort us to achieve and to reach out, we are content that it will be done without having to pass resolutions," said Dr. Lipshutz.<sup>98</sup>

#### B. THE ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMMING OF THE DIVISION OF TORAH CULTURE.

At the end of 1946, the Centre of Orthodox Culture in Eretz Yisrael, which had functioned for a period of seven years, was reorganized. It became known as the Division of Torah Culture in the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi. Its activities were labelled "Culture Work among the Orthodox." The aims and purposes of the Division were stated as follows:<sup>99</sup>

To constitute an essential instrumentality in helping to enhance the eternal value of our Torah, our culture and our original language—through programming of Torah and language and religious culture among the faithful Jews in Eretz Yisrael. The insistence that our Hebrew language be the only language to be used in all private and public enterprises among our orthodox Jews shall be our chief promotional activity. This will be accomplished by maintaining life situations in the Yishuv which reflect a genuine religious spirit and orientation; by creating opportunities for participation in religious cultural and educational activities by all persons in the cities and towns, who are eager to know and learn the word of God; by arranging special activities for the new immigrants of the oriental and Near Eastern communities, for men, women, youth and children.

The Division of Torah Culture was under the direction of Rabbi Abraham Hen. The national supervisor and coordinator of all its activities was Dr. Haim Lipshutz. A supervisory board was appointed, including Rabbi M. Ostrovsky as Chairman, Rabbi (Professor) S. Assaf, Rabbi Meir Berlin, Mr. Am M. Ganahovsky, Rabbi J. Berman, Mr. A. Hinenberger, Rabbi (Dr.) Sh. Greenberg, Dr. J. Wolfsberg, Rabbi H. P. T'hor-



osh, Mr. M. Shapiro, Mr. Sh. Z. Shragai, Dr. Sh. Z. Kahana, Mr. P. Mel-tzer, Rabbi A. Neifeld and Dr. J. A. Rabin.

The Division's overall program was to be implemented by establishing classes and hugim to teach the Torah in the language of the Torah; by opening classes in conversational Hebrew; by arranging concentrated study days and lecture days on the subjects of Torah, rabbinics and man's concepts of Judaism, the universe, and current educational and sociological problems, as well as subjects dealing with the Yishuv's responsibilities for the remnants of Jewry (following the mass annihilation of millions of Jews by the Nazis); by planning Sabbath, festival and new moon social and cultural meetings; by organizing anniversary memorial events for the great men of Torah, and in memory or in honor of important events in the history of our people; and by setting up Torah libraries, reading rooms and so forth.

A further expansion in the Division's program of activities was the lecture and special events project held regularly in the cities and towns. Special committees were appointed in these localities to stimulate attendance and participation at these events. The committees functioned as "local religious-culture committees" and cooperated with the Central Committee of the Division in Jerusalem. The Mizrahi organization, the Hapool Hamizrahi, and the various orthodox youth groups assisted in promoting the activities of the Division. Financial assistance was frequently forthcoming from the World Mizrahi Movement.<sup>100</sup>

Other projects promoted by the Division were new popular Torah schools, educational and religious conventions and seminars, symposia and institutes dealing with orthodox thought, instructional kits and program aids on topics of importance and educational significance.



The Division of Torah Culture presented its proposed budget for the 1946/47 fiscal year to the Department of Culture. Table VI shows the break-down of the classes and hugim operating in the various areas, the number of students and hours of instruction, and the expenditures.

TABLE VI. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DIVISION OF TORAH CULTURE, 1946/47.<sup>101</sup>

A. Torah and Language Teaching: Existing Classes and Hugim

<u>Location</u>	<u>Classes</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Hours</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	
				<u>Dept.</u>	<u>Others</u>
Jerusalem and environs	14	199	44	375.600	145.800
Tel Aviv	39	631	102	1650.000	
Haifa and environs	6	69	16	259.200	
Sharon	2	52	8	129.600	
Judea	7	145	25	405.000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>1096</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>2819.400</b>	<b>145.800</b>

B. New Classes and Hugim

Jerusalem and environs	60	887	270	2592.500	2295.660
Tel Aviv	53	742	272	1771.400	1681.200
Haifa and environs	46	746	232	1595.400	2016.600
Moshavot, moshavim & kibbutzim	41	450	123	1500.000	500.000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>2825</b>	<b>897</b>	<b>7459.300</b>	<b>6493.460</b>

C. Rentals and Maintenance

500.000

**GRAND TOTAL**                      268                      3921                      1092                      10,778.700                      6639.260

D. Lectures, publicity, memorial meetings, etc.                      3,525.000                      3100.000-

14,303.700                      9739.260<sup>101</sup>



Apparently this ambitious budget was not approved in its entirety, nor were all the funds that were approved forthcoming. The following letter discloses the fact that lack of sufficient financing was the most vexing problem facing the Division.

On October 13, 1947, Rabbi Hen wrote to Professor Joseph Klausner, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Department of Education and Culture. The letter dealt with the budget of the Division of Torah Culture for the coming year.<sup>102</sup> Rabbi Hen stated that all funds had been depleted and as a result the classes in Torah and the Hebrew language had to be curtailed. Except for Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, the rest of the country had been subject to a complete stoppage of language and culture activities among the orthodox. In Haifa, for example, there had been no allocation made at all. Rabbi Hen stated that the refusal by the National Committee in Jerusalem to consider granting an annual budget for the work of the Division had come as a shock to him. He complained of the indifference and lack of concern displayed by men in important positions for the cause of orthodox influence and culture in Eretz Yisrael. He asserted that the Torah classes in Hebrew among the orthodox groups had been of tremendous benefit to them, both in subject matter and in the use of the Hebrew language. He recalled to Professor Klausner that the Vaad Leumi, in a meeting of its Executive Committee, had confirmed that the work of the Division was beneficial not only to the orthodox community but to the total Yishuv as well. Rabbi Hen concluded his letter by asking that the Department should at least pay the outstanding amount of 2000,000 L.E.Y. owed the Division on its 1946/47 approved budget. The writer was not able to find an answer from Professor Klausner to this request.



In April, 1948, the final budgetary request was made by the Division of Torah Culture to the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi.<sup>103</sup> Thereafter, negotiations were conducted with the Ministry of Education and Culture of the State of Israel. In the Ministry, there is a separate Department of Torah Culture.

The program of 1948/49 was to be expanded, with the hope of doubling the number of classes in Torah and language; opening Torah schools in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa; founding a central teachers and lecturers seminary to train persons to assume the teaching and guidance activities of the Division; continuing to publish instructional material for youth leaders and teachers of adults; conducting symposia and aiding in the writing and publishing of textbooks in consonance with religious and Torah concepts; and finally in undertaking a national study and survey to determine the number and scope of orthodox activities conducted throughout the land.



Chapter XVI.

THE TEL AVIV PROGRAM OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE TEACHING

Tel Aviv was the most active of the major cities in Eretz Yisrael in the dissemination of Hebrew language and culture education to adult new immigrants and watikim. It had the largest number of potential learners and was in a better position financially to support formal and informal language and culture programs. For the most part, these programs were conducted independently by the Vaadhha-lashon we-ha-tarbut (Committee for Hebrew Language and Culture) of the Tel Aviv municipality, although assistance was given by the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi in the areas of supervision, promotion, teacher recruitment and training, and classroom facilities. (See Page 59.) These two agencies issued a joint comprehensive report covering their activities for the period from September, 1946, to October, 1947.<sup>104</sup>

A. Evening Language Classes.

Following an intensive registration campaign in September, 1946, with the aid of newspaper publicity, billboards and special meetings, it was reported that 2,227 students were enrolled in 160 classes at 44 locations. The students were classified in 49 beginners' classes comprised mostly of new olim, 88 intermediate classes and 23 advanced classes. The students came from 31 countries, were taught by 60 teachers for a total of 464 teacher-hours per week. The average number of students per class was 14, although some classes had as many as 25 students while others had as few as 10. The 49 beginners' classes were held in 24 places, usually school rooms and immigrant club rooms.



Informal activities were also included in the evening classes program. The intermediate and advanced classes met on Sabbath mornings, at which time noted authors and artists would appear for lectures and dramatic presentations. Students would be accompanied by their teachers, and chats in Hebrew would precede and follow the performances.

The holidays were always observed with special activities. During Hanuka two concerts were held, with 1300 students in attendance. On Tu Beshvat there were a number of parties at which students and teachers, as well as professional artists, performed. Two gala Purim masquerade balls attracted approximately 1300 students. Two performances and parties were held on Lag Baomer at which 1100 students attended.

Between the 12th and 15th days of August, 1947, eleven commencement parties took place. The students and teachers presented skits and musical renditions. The supervisor of the evening classes, Mr. Moshe Raat, spoke on the achievements of the students and expressed the hope that the beginners would continue their studies the following semester. The commencement exercises were concluded with dancing and refreshments.

#### B. CLUB ACTIVITIES FOR STUDENTS AND NEW IMMIGRANTS.

##### 1. Bet ha-olim in Tel Aviv.

The Department of Culture was particularly interested in developing a stimulating program which would attract the new olim. In August, 1946, a specially qualified teacher-group leader was appointed to administer a broad program at the Bet ha-olim community house, consisting of: teaching the Hebrew language; organizing Sabbath and Festival events; organizing trips and tours; attendance at theatres and cinemas;



providing reading material--books, newspapers and magazines; and providing facilities for libraries and reading rooms.

The purpose of teaching the Hebrew language to the olim was to "ease the adjustment problems of the new immigrant to his new environment, and to make it possible for him to gradually take part in the process of the economic, social and political development of the homeland."<sup>105</sup> Since the knowledge of Hebrew of the majority of olim was limited and inadequate, the Department decided to initiate the most intensive plan to date of daily instruction for beginners and intermediate groups. Studies were conducted from 6:00 to 9:30 p.m. five evenings a week, for a total of 17½ hours per week. Four classes were in session regularly. Classes were small, numbering from 12 to 15 students in each class.

The Sabbath and Festival events had many purposes, chief among which was the opportunity for socializing among the new immigrants. At first, such events were held twice a month on Friday evenings. However, because of the great interest shown by the olim for this type of cultural activity, the events were soon scheduled for every Friday evening. At these gatherings, the majority came from immigrant groups. The leader would open the meeting and present a topic of vital interest to the Yishuv or to the audience. The lecturer would begin speaking in Hebrew, but then would change to Yiddish so that everyone could understand. After the lecture there was group singing--teaching the audience new homeland melodies and songs--under the leadership of a professional singer. Sometimes there would be a musical rendition at the piano or on the violin. The report stated that these culture-entertainment



events became very endeared to the immigrants and other visitors, and constituted a significant factor in the oleh's attitude toward the unique national problems, the language and the culture of the homeland.

Trips and tours arranged for the students had as their chief purpose the familiarization of the country and its historical places to the new immigrants. However, because of the limited funds available for this activity trips had to be restricted to the environs of Tel Aviv. Among the places visited were Givat ha-shlosha, the experimental station at Rehovot, the moshav ovdim, Bet Hanan, and the Bet Shemen village.

In the library and reading rooms the three daily newspapers, Davar, Haaretz and Hatzofeh, and two weeklies, Davar Ha-shavua and Ha-olam ha-zeh, were available regularly. A number of new books were also acquired. Most of the books were vocalized and were easy to read. However, the report stated that they consisted mainly of children's reading material which was not appropriate for adult learners, both from a language and content point of view.

## 2. The Moadon Clubhouse.

In order to provide adequate facilities for some of its activities, the Tel Aviv municipality opened the Moadon Culture Clubhouse on July 13, 1947. It was hoped that this clubhouse, situated in beautiful surroundings, would be conducive to developing good relationships between the students and the new immigrants, and that the latter would be introduced to the Hebrew language in a "sociable and friendly manner."

Cultural and artistic activities were scheduled every Sunday, Monday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings, from 6:00 to 9:30 p.m.



Lectures, debates, group singing and dramatics were conducted under the supervision of the teacher-group leader, Miss Jennie Bein. The Moadon worked jointly with the Bet ha-olim, arranging for cooperative presentations and club projects. Every Monday evening, joint activities were held, either at the Moadon or at the Bet ha-olim. This cooperative effort resulted in a close relationship between the new immigrants and the watikim.

### 3. Bet Ha-tarbut.

The largest community clubhouse, Bet Ha-tarbut, with ample facilities for educational, recreational and reception purposes, was made available in Tel Aviv to the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi to meet the cultural needs of the city in general and the olim, in particular.

A festive inauguration of Bet Ha-tarbut was held on the 24th of Kislev, 1947. The principal speakers were Isaac ben Zvi, then president of the Vaad Leumi, Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel, Director of the Department of Culture, D. Z. Pinkus and Israel Shohet. The Tel Aviv Chorus, under the direction of Y. Brendman, and the Eretz Yisrael Mozart Musical Trio supplied the entertainment. Six hundred persons attended the opening.

Bet Ha-tarbut consisted of six buildings on Hayarkon Street, supervised and maintained by the Department of Culture. One of the buildings was used as the M. J. Bardichevsky Library. It housed a large reading room. Other buildings contained classrooms for the study of Hebrew; club rooms for the police, Jewish volunteer soldiers and discharged soldiers; a large auditorium for concerts and lectures;



and a second auditorium for parties and entertainment. Bet Ha-tarbut was used for the general community's cultural and artistic needs: concerts, theatrical performances, art exhibits and city displays of scientific and literary value were held there. During the first year of occupancy, the large auditorium was used for 68 city-wide performances.

C. The Hugim.

The Tel Aviv program included 44 small study groups in cooperation with existing adult organizations. These hugim studied and discussed a variety of subjects including Tanakh, Modern Literature, Agada, Talmud, Geography and History of the Homeland, Psychology, and Methods to Improve Hebrew Conversation.

Leading the discussions at the hugim were men and women of renown in their respective fields. A total of 540 persons participated as learners in these groups. Thirty-eight lecturers and leaders were in charge. It was estimated that approximately 70 hours per week were devoted to this educational activity.

D. The Institute for Language Improvement.

Particularly geared to the professional who required improvement in his or her facility to communicate in Hebrew--in speaking, reading and writing--was the Institute for Language Improvement, founded in 1942 under the auspices of the Department of Culture and the Vaad ha-lashon we-ha-tarbut of the Tel Aviv municipality.

On the 24th of Kislev, 1946, the fifth annual season was opened. Among the 154 students enrolled were elementary and high school teachers, kindergarten teachers, clerks, merchants, laborers, skilled work-



ers, physicians, attorneys, industrialists, farmers, agricultural engineers, architects, engineers, housewives, students, secretaries and group leaders.

The faculty included Dr. Sh. D. Goitein, whose subject was pronunciation and expression; Dr. Y. Perez, sentence structure; Mr. Isaac Avinari, language mistakes and corrections; Mr. Sh. Spahn, speaking and writing style; Mr. Moshe Raat, the origin of the Hebrew alphabet and its usages in language composition. A special aid to the learners was provided by "human teaching aids," called demonstrators and articulators, in the persons of Yehuda Ahronkrantz and N. Melamed. These men accompanied Dr. Goitein in his lectures and followed his instructions in articulating the subject matter taught.

The Institute concluded its fifth season on Lag Baomer, 1947.

#### E. Popular Education.

In cooperation with the various agencies and organizations in Tel Aviv, the Department of Culture arranged for joint lectures and literary-social evenings for the public in Tel Aviv and its vicinity. A total of 499 events were held during the year 1946/47. It was estimated that 36,000 persons availed themselves of these educational-recreational programs.

Among the speakers and artists who led the discussions or performed were the most noted personalities on the Bretz Yisrael scene. These included Dr. A. Shmueli, Dr. H. Bar-Dayana, Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel, David Shimonovits, Dr. H. Bugrashov, Dr. Jeremiah Frankel, Dr. Raphael Patai and Dr. Hillel Bavli; Brakha Zefira, concert pianist Frank Pollack, folk singer Mr. B. Unger, Hanna Zamir, Sarah Yaari; dramatists



Hanna Rovinah, Dania Levin, A. Newmark and others. In all, 326 guest speakers and artists were involved. They appeared at 15 different locations.

The events were scheduled for all evenings, including Friday evening, and on Shabat mornings and afternoons. Persons from all "trends" were among the audiences, including orthodox youth and adults, labor youth and adults, and youth and adults from the general community. The city agencies and organizations which cooperated in implementing this popular education program included the Histadrut Culture Council, the Mizrahi and Hapoel Hamizrahi organizations, the WIZO Women's Zionist Organisation, the General Zionist Organization, the Tel Aviv Parents' Council and the Immigrant Society.

#### F. Publicity and Promotion for the Hebrew Language.

During Hanuka, 1947, the Department of Culture announced the national observance of Yemei ha-lashon we-ha-tarbut (Days on Behalf of Language and Culture). The opening was marked by a large mass meeting held at the Bet Ha-tarbut. The renowned writers and poets Y. Fichman and Sh. Shalom were joined by Dr. N. Benjamin, Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel, Rabbi Abraham Hen and Mr. N. Greenblatt in expressing great hopes for the work to be accomplished by this nation-wide observance. At every session of the evening classes held anywhere in the city, announcements were made, explanations given, and sihot carried on relative to the importance of these days to the homeland.

In another promotion for the use of Hebrew in the land, the Department distributed 15,000 copies of an open letter to housewives, urging them to look for Hebrew labels and markings on the merchandise they



bought. The letter stated that in the event no Hebrew labels or signs were in evidence, the housewife should insist that in the future, to retain her business, the storekeeper should demand of the distributors and manufacturers labels and wrappings and markings in Hebrew. The newspapers and the city billboards featured the open letter. Editorials appeared in the leading publications, urging the public to heed the requests for Hebrew labels, signs, wrappings, announcements and so on.

The youth organizations assisted in the city-wide project. They arranged for feature talks at their meetings, calling all youth to "stand guard and defend the oneness of the Hebrew language in Eretz Yisrael." At these youth mass meetings, Mr. Y. Gur Aryeh, B. Z. Yedidya and Leah Daganit spoke.

During the lunch hour at twenty-two factories and shops, Department representatives appeared before the workers and spoke on the problems of the Hebrew language and culture, and the ways and means to overcome those problems, especially with the new immigrants.

Special brochures and pamphlets were published to explain the purposes of knowing Hebrew and indicating the available educational opportunities in the city. Names of schools and meeting places, at which evening language classes were being held, were listed. Messages by popular writers, entertainers and actors were quoted on the essential values of the Hebrew language to life in the homeland.

Mr. Moshe Raat noted that, although this was not directly related to the activities of language and culture in the city, 4000 books were collected in Tel Aviv to be shipped through the Joint Distribution Committee to "our brethren interned on the island of Cyprus." 106



Chapter XVII.

ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE IN THE PERIOD PRECEDING THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

On November 18, 1947, an emergency meeting was called by the Vaad Leumi in Jerusalem. The delegates to the Elected Assembly of the Jewish Community in Eretz Yisrael were given a frank account of the political situation in the land. Reports were also submitted dealing with the problems confronting the new immigrants in their economic, social and cultural adjustment to the homeland. Mr. Nahum Levin presented the report of the Department of Culture. He stated that the Department had assumed a three-fold task in 1947: 1) to direct its concerted efforts to a program of language teaching among the olim and the residents; 2) to intensify its programming for mass foundation education in the Yishuv; and 3) to remain on firm watch to defend the rights of the Hebrew language and to work for its autonomy in the land.<sup>107</sup>

Mr. Levin reported that the operations of the Department had been considerably increased by the large immigration, including Aliya Bet. In cooperation with the Department of Immigration and Absorption of the Jewish Agency, the Department of Culture sent its workers to the immigrant camps and hostels in order to provide the olim with the basics of the Hebrew language and the homeland spirit. Mr. Levin listed the camps and immigrant reception centers (hostels) where the Department workers and teachers offered their services: Atlit camp and Kiryat Shmuel camp near Haifa; Neveh Haim camp near Hedera; and the Immigrant Reception Centers of Tel Aviv and Bat Galim. In the Nahariya Rest Home for Immigrants, the Department set up a full program



of language teaching and recreational activities. Classes for beginners, intermediate and advanced students were conducted daily and intensively. The teachers were always on hand to guide, assist and encourage every oleh, both in language and social adjustment. When the immigrants were transferred to other locations in the land, the Department followed up its educational work with them wherever they were assigned.<sup>108</sup>

At Mr. Levin's suggestion, the immigrants interned at the Cyprus camps were taught the Hebrew language. The Jewish Agency, in cooperation with the Joint Distribution Committee and the Department of Culture, launched a program of language teaching and cultural absorption not only for the persons interned at the Cyprus camps but at the refugee camps in West Germany and Italy as well. Mr. Levin engaged ten teachers and went with them to Cyprus to begin their work with the thousands of Jews who had been turned back from Palestine by the British. In every camp they opened a Bet Tarbut for children and adults. Students received three hours of class instruction daily. The teachers worked on three shifts a day. They gradually succeeded in uncovering new talent for recreation and language teaching among the refugees. These volunteer teachers cheerfully accepted the task to assist in the instruction of their comrades, including youth and children.

In the American sector of West Germany camps, the Department functioned on a broader scope. In Paris, Mr. Levin met Mr. Blackman of the Joint Distribution Committee who urged him to proceed with all dispatch to inaugurate the cultural program in Germany, Italy and Austria. Mr. Levin engaged 100 teachers from Eretz Yisrael and began



operations in a method similar to that employed in Cyprus. Textbooks and supplies were provided by the J. D. C., by the Jewish Agency and by the American Manpower Division.

Mr. Levin told the writer that the idea of a concentrated and intensive method of teaching the language, as employed now in the Ulpanim, came to him while he was experimenting with the classes in Cyprus and West Germany. "To have persons live on the premises and be exposed daily to a three or four or five hour period of studying, under the tutelage of a skillful teacher, is the answer to our language problems with the new immigrants and also with the older residents in the homeland," he said.<sup>109</sup>

When Mr. Levin returned to Eretz Yisrael from his European mission, he received the commendation of Mr. Eliyahu Dobkin, head of the Administrative Department of the Jewish Agency. Mr. Dobkin wrote: <sup>110</sup>

The work and energy and spirit of Mr. Levin for his untiring and highly successful achievements in organizing the teaching of the Hebrew language and culture, and the love of the homeland, to tens of thousands of our brethren whom we expect to come and make their homes with their fellow Jews in their homeland, will remain a blessing for generations to come...We have received reports from army personnel, camp managers and persons interned in the camps, that Mr. Levin's steadfastness and zeal in the field of disseminating the Hebrew language and culture among the campers is to be regarded as highly beneficial to the morale and camaraderie of the children and adults in the camps.

Mr. Levin's report to the Elected Assembly included the statistics of the evening classes during the 1946/47 school year. These are shown in Table VII below.



TABLE VII. THE EVENING CLASSES, 1946/47. <sup>111</sup>

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>CLASSES</u>	<u>TEACHERS</u>	<u>HOURS/WEEK</u>	<u>ENROLLMENT</u>
Jerusalem	46	24	113	518
Tel Aviv	160	60	464	2527
Judea, Sharon, and Shomron	133	62	351	1659
Haifa & environs	61	23	136	716
TOTAL	400	169	1064	5420

Students were classified as beginners, intermediates or advanced. In the beginners' classes the aims were to teach the students the basics of conversation, reading and writing; with the intermediates, to enable them to read and understand chapters from the Tanakh, from the Agada, and selections from modern Hebrew literature. The curriculum of the intermediate level also included Jewish history, knowledge of the homeland, current events and the philosophy and history of the Zionist movement. The advanced students studied modern literature from the sources, and an entire book of Tanakh; they conducted discourses on Agada and Midrash, and gave book reports.

In addition to the formal classroom studies, the teachers strove to create a receptivity for Zionist ideals and national aspirations--not only during class time, but also when the students went on hikes and tours, when they met for social and recreational evenings, and when they attended as groups theater performances, concerts and exhibits.

Through the media of hugim, institutes and seminars, the Department provided hundreds of persons--chiefly skilled workers and professionals--with the opportunity to improve their ability to speak Hebrew.



The spirit and "oneness" of the Hebrew language were communicated to the Yishuv by energetic promotion and interpretation in the newspapers, on billboards, in short films and slides shown in the cinemas, and by circulars distributed to homes and businesses.

The work of language and culture education among the orthodox evidenced growth during the year of this report, 1946/47. (See Chapter XV, page 132.)

Mr. Levin summarized his report by calling attention to the difficulties and unforeseen problems caused by the insecure conditions in the land and the public tension stemming from the political uncertainties. He said that evening classes and folk education activities often had to be postponed or cancelled because of curfews and military emergencies that came without warning. The Department was forced to move its offices three times for security reasons. The allocations normally earmarked for evening classes and folk education were curtailed or entirely withdrawn by the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi. Salaries were cut and increases were denied. Nevertheless, the Department continued its activities and, in certain areas, it even expanded its program, although it was never able to meet the total need.

Mr. Levin expressed confidence in the outcome of the struggle, and predicted further expansion of the Department's program. He stated that he had succeeded in obtaining the publication of vowelled text material for the beginners' classes, and that a plan was on the way to publicize lists of the new vocabulary and idioms. He appealed to the controlling organizations to help in the education of teachers for adults, to construct new culture centers and people's clubs as well



as to improve the ones already in operation. He pressed for the stamping out of foreignism in speech, print, advertising and public affairs and placed the responsibility for such action upon the entire Yishuv.<sup>112</sup>

On November 25, 1947, one week after the emergency meeting of the Elected Assembly, Mr. Levin submitted the 1947/48 operational budget of the Department of Culture. He stated that in the twelve years of the Department's activity, over 60,000 persons had received learning opportunities through the evening classes and other cultural activities, and that 250 persons had graduated from the summer seminars for teachers of adults during the first three years. Other major accomplishments were the recognition that education of the adult population was a national responsibility in the same way as child education, and the Yishuv's acceptance of its responsibility to finance mass adult education.<sup>113</sup>

Specifically, the accomplishments after twelve years of activity were: 1) operation of the program from a central office and three district offices, in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa; 2) services of two coordinators for the settlement areas, one for the Judea area and one for the Sharon area; 3) an administrative and supervisory staff of 22 persons; 4) a corps of adult language teachers, the majority of whom were part-time teachers, whose total weekly teaching hours reached 1064 in 1947; 5) a group of lecturers on Judaica subjects, general education and current problems, who delivered a total of 1080 lectures in 1947; 6) a group of artists and professionals for readings, singing, instrument playing and dancing, who were on call by the Department to make appearances and present performances at every location in the land,



for a total of 800 appearances in 1947; 7) culture committees appointed by every local authority--township council or municipality--whose financial support to the language and culture program amounted to 8,447 L.E.Y. in 1947; 8) the functioning of the Agency for the Hebrew Language and Culture, a voluntary organization whose responsibility it was to solicit financial support from the public to maintain the operation of the Department of Culture.<sup>114</sup>

The proposed budget for the 1947/48 fiscal year was 42,950 L.E.Y.

TABLE VIII. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, 1947/48.<sup>115</sup>

A. INCOME:

Vaad Leumi	9,000 L.E.Y.
Jewish Agency	6,320
Annual allocation	3,600 L.E.Y.
Special allocation	2,720 "
Municipalities and Township Councils	11,530
Tuition and Admission to special events	4,100
The Norman Fund	6,000
The Department's fund-raising project	6,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>42,950 L.E.Y.</b>

B. EXPENDITURES:

Administration and Supervision (including clerical services)	10,000 L.E.Y.
Central office -- 16 persons	
Tel Aviv office -- 5 persons	
Haifa office -- 3 persons	
Judea, Sharon, Shomron & Galil -- 4 persons	
Salaries: teachers, lecturers, artists, etc.	28,000
Rentals, maintenance, supplies, etc.	4,950
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>42,950 L.E.Y.</b>

Mr. Levin explained that the proposed budget fixed the minimum amount required to meet the basic needs of the Department's program of



activities, among the existing Yishuv and the anticipated wave of immigration that would come with the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the State of Israel. He urged the organization of a huge language and culture program which would help "to establish the correct image of a Jewish State and at the same time preserve the Hebrew character of our life in it." He stated that it was a national and political obligation to be concerned not only with the physical—military and economic—strength of the State, but also with its spiritual fiber. "Only by following this direction in the coming years," said Mr. Levin, "will we represent our true fortitude and worth and exert a commensurate measure of influence and dignity among the nations of the world."<sup>116</sup>

On December 13, 1947, Mr. Zvi Luria, Director of the Department of Information of the Vaad Leumi, invited the press to a special meeting of the Elected Assembly at which reports were given on the plans and preparations of the various national social and economic services for effecting the establishment of the Jewish State.<sup>117</sup>

At this meeting, Mr. David Remez discussed the problems involved in transforming the future State into a land of mass immigration, and the absorption and adjustment of the immigrants in their new country. He spoke of the important place of the Hebrew language in the new state, pointing to the three great miracles that came to the Jewish people in this era. The first miracle was the miracle of the Return, the coming home of the Jewish people to their land, amidst danger and mesirut nefesh, by legal and illegal means. The second miracle, said Mr. Remez, was the miracle of settlement, and especially the resettlement.



ment from the cities to the moshavot. The third miracle was that of the rebirth of the Hebrew language which for numberless generations had lacked the "potency of speech." Mr. Remez added that he could envision the Yishuv growing to unprecedented dimensions, and that it was imperative to transform it in the shortest possible time to a community fortified by its qualitative aspects of culture, education and the spirit.<sup>118</sup>

Mr. Nahum Levin was also present at this meeting. He acknowledged the cooperation given the Department by the Federation of Teachers, the General Federation of Workers (Histadrut), the Hebrew University, the WIZO, Hapoel Hamizrachi and others. He observed, however, that there were still tens of thousands of olim for whom the Department was unable to provide the full cost of education.<sup>119</sup>

On January 15, 1948, the Department of Culture submitted a budget to the Vaad Leumi for the total operation of its program during the 1948/49 fiscal year. This budget was based upon current activities and new ones to be undertaken. In its scope of activities it approached the dimensions of the operation of the Department of Language Teaching in the Ministry of Education and Culture of the State of Israel. In terms of cost, it far exceeded the preceding year's budget of 42,950 L.E.Y. A primary distinction in the 1948/49 budget was the inclusion of a request for a government subsidy, amounting to 206,188 L.E.Y. out of the total budget of 295,870 L.E.Y.<sup>120</sup>

Mr. Levin explained that the proposed budget was based upon the anticipated needs of vast waves of immigration and the Department's commitment to fulfill the educational and cultural requirements of



these clim. Financial support was expected to be forthcoming from the Department of Immigration of the Jewish Agency and the Defense Department of the Medina.

The proposed budget covered the following areas of operation:

- 1) continuation of the evening language classes and the program of language teaching; 2) reopening of the ulpan (institute) for language teachers for adults; 3) opening of clubs for Jewish soldiers; 4) greater scope of activity for social entertainment and appreciation of the arts; 5) expansion of the network of hugim for specialization and advancement; 6) expansion of the network of Torah classes; 7) renewal of the library division; 8) renewal of the Hebrew music division; and 9) increased activity in programming among the oriental and Near East communities.

TABLE IX. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, 1948/49. <sup>121</sup>

A. INCOME:

1. Teaching the Hebrew Language	
a. From Municipalities	31,250 L.E.Y.
b. From Community Committees	8,275
c. From Township Councils	7,500
d. From Tuition	13,125
2. Popular Education	
a. From Municipalities	4,810
b. From Township Councils	8,372
c. From admission fees to lectures, etc.	10,350
3. Norman Fund	6,000
4. Government Subsidy	206,188

TOTAL INCOME

295,870 L.E.Y.

B. EXPENDITURES: (continued following page)



TABLE IX. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, 1948/49.  
(continued from preceding page)

B. EXPENDITURES:

1. Teaching the Hebrew Language		
a. Anticipated enrollment of 25,000 students in 1,250 classes of 20 students per class. Expected faculty of 250 teachers at a total of 9,000 L.E.Y. per month = 108,000 L.E.Y. Travel expenses, etc. = 12,000		
	Total	120,000 L.E.Y.
b. Seminars for teachers		3,720
c. Parties, socials, etc., for students		5,000
d. Subsidy for vowelised newspaper		3,000
e. Publicity		3,800
f. Promotion for Hebrew names		300
g. Promotion for Hebrew signs, labels and advertising		500
h. Hebrew Week		1,000
i. A monthly publication for language affairs		600
j. Meetings and conventions		600
2. Popular Education		
a. Seminars and institutes for language improvement		2,000
b. Seminars and institutes for knowledge of the homeland		2,000
c. <u>Hugim</u> , popular lectures and performances, clubs for soldiers, subsidies to <u>Batei Am</u> and cultural organizations, folk cultural celebrations of memorial and anniversary days, cultural programming among oriental and Near East communities, division of libraries		96,460
d. Programming in Fine Arts, Hebrew Music readings and dramatics, singing, dancing, instrumental music; subsidy to theaters, choruses, orchestras, painting and sculpture, and operatic activity		25,500
e. Allocation to the Academy of Language, support to writers		3,500
f. Publicity and promotion		3,000
g. General administrative expenses		
Salaries for director, supervisors, clerical help, etc.		20,590
Travel, postage, telephone, supplies, etc.		4,300
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		295,870 L.E.Y.



TABLE X. PERSONNEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE AND THEIR SALARIES. 122

A. In the central office in Jerusalem	Annual Salary	
	1948/49	1947/48
Director of the Department (Dr. Yehuda Ibn Shmuel)	1000 L.E.Y.	656 L.E.Y.
General Supervisor (Nahum Levin)	900	not given
Head of Literature Division	800	not given
Chief Supervisor of Evening Classes (Dr. Haim Bar Dayan)	800	629
Head of Music Division	800	not given
Director of Cultural Activities among the Orthodox (Rabbi Abraham Hen)	900	630
Supervisor of Programming among the Orthodox (Dr. Haim Lipshutz)	800	619
Supervisor of Popular Education	800	not given
Treasurer of the Department	800	706
Secretary of the Department	800	483
Bookkeeper of the Department	700	596
2 Secretaries @ 400 L.E.Y. each	800	not given
2 Clerks @ 480 L.E.Y. each	960	920
Messenger	300	189
B. Serving Jerusalem and environs		
Director of Region and Supervisor of Evening Classes	800	not given
Secretary-typist	480	not given
Messenger	200	not given
C. Serving Tel Aviv and Environs		
Director of Region (Mr. Moshe Raat)	800	671
Supervisor of Activities	700	not given
Secretary	700	643
Clerk-typist	450	453
Messenger	400	377
D. Serving Haifa and environs		
Director of Region and Supervisor of Evening Classes (Dr. David Marani)	800	705
Clerk-secretary	400	371
Typist	200	183
E. Serving <u>Moshavot</u> in Judea		
2 Coordinators @ 700 L.E.Y. each	1400	1240
F. Serving <u>Moshavot</u> in Sharon, Shomron and Galil		
3 Coordinators @ 700 L.E.Y. each	2100	not given
TOTAL SALARIES (1948/49)	20,590 L.E.Y.	



In analyzing the 1947/48 and 1948/49 budget proposals (Tables VIII and IX) a number of implications can be drawn. The 1948/49 budget was more than five times as large as the preceding one, reflecting a much broader undertaking to cope with the rising needs of the anticipated vast waves of immigration to the new State. It can be inferred that such a program was accepted by the authorities as essential to the adjustment and absorption of the new immigrants.

The fact that the central government was to finance two-thirds of the total budget of 295,870 L.E.Y. gave the program new stature. Adult language and culture education was at last recognized as a national responsibility and it was therefore incumbent upon the emerging State to pay the major cost of the program. This principle was established then for the years to come, although at later intervals the State of Israel and the Ministry of Education would have welcomed the opportunity to minimize its obligation (see Part III).

The detailed breakdown, in the 1948/49 budget, of the various areas in which the Department expected to function showed the extent of the voids and difficulties which it meant to fill and overcome. In the succeeding years a number of activities included here were absorbed by other services. Certain of the subsidies to have been extended by the Department of Culture (i.e., to the Academy of the Hebrew Language) were, in future years, excluded from the budget proposals of the Department of Language Teaching (successor to the Department of Culture) which became primarily concerned with the teaching of the Hebrew language and culture to olim and watikim.

The personnel and clerical staff of the Department of Culture



served the needs of culture and language both in an advisory capacity and in actual involvement in training, teaching, lecturing, supervising and promoting the programming of the Department. The proposed salaries for the personnel in the Department for the year 1948/49 (Table X), and the substantial increases over the salaries of the previous year, would seem to reflect the heightened importance given to adult language and culture education and the resulting enhancement of the status of professionals in this field.<sup>123</sup>



Chapter XVIII.

SUMMARY

The second period in the history of adult education in Eretz Yisrael can be characterized as the growth years. This period witnessed notable gains in the dissemination of the Hebrew language and culture, but it was not without its growing pains. As in the first period, the dedication and zeal of a handful of individuals sparked the program and kept it vibrant despite numerous problems. Paramount among these problems were:

- 1) the apathy of large numbers of immigrants who had little or no desire to learn the Hebrew language. These olim were, for the most part, refugees from war-torn Europe, and not the devoted Zionists who had come to Eretz Yisrael in the early years and for whom the rebirth of the Hebrew language was a sine qua non for themselves and for a reconstructed Jewish homeland;
- 2) the lack of public spirit to motivate the use and study of the Hebrew language; and
- 3) the widespread use of foreign languages in the newspapers, periodicals, advertising, and business and professional life.

The need to provide formal and informal learning opportunities for adult olim and watikin was recognized by the Vaad Leumi with the establishment of the Department of Culture in 1936. This was the most noteworthy accomplishment of the second period. The Department functioned without interruption throughout the period in organizing and supervising Hebrew language evening classes all over the land.

The Department did not succeed, however, in coordinating all of



the Yishuv's educational activities for adults. A brief merger of efforts between the Department and the Culture Centre of the Histadrut did not achieve the anticipated results and was discontinued. The city of Tel Aviv sponsored its own program during this period, although it cooperated with the Department in certain areas of operation, namely, supervision and promotion.

Financial troubles plagued the Department throughout the period. Hardly ever were there sufficient funds available to meet the needs of teachers' salaries, classroom rentals, publication of textual materials for adults, teacher education, and so forth. National agencies, such as the Zionist Organisation, promised funds to the Vaad Leumi for the operation of the Department, but they often did not fulfill their promises. Party politics, the Arab riots and the general uncertainties of the time were blamed. Municipalities and local authorities also did not always supply their share of the financial support. A definite basis for central financing of adult education, similar to that of kindergarten, elementary and high school education, had not been established. Therefore, the ultimate acceptance, in 1948, by the Knesset Yisrael that language and culture education for adults is a national responsibility, to be included in the budget, constituted a real achievement of this period.

The leaders of adult education had to turn to the people in their quest for funds, and the two major promotional drives--the Mil la-tarbut and Mifal ha-mil--accomplished even more than the raising of funds. They made the Yishuv aware of the needs, they stimulated the enrollment in the evening classes and informal activities, and they encouraged the



wider use of Hebrew among the masses. Mr. Bezalel Shazar, Director of the Culture Centre of the Histadrut, which sponsored the Mil la-tarbut, and Mr. Moshe Attias, the secretary of the Vaad Leumi, which sponsored the Mifal ha-mil, both affirmed these facts in interviews with the writer.<sup>124</sup> In general, the promotional efforts of this period, which included Hebrew Days, Weeks and Months, conventions and kinnusim, newspaper editorials and billboard signs, special sales of Hebrew books and various events of a cultural nature succeeded in arousing the interest of the Yishuv.

The shortage of qualified teachers for adults and the absence of a standardized curriculum, including suitable textual material and proven teaching methods, constituted a major problem. The Department of Culture alleviated the teacher shortage when it instituted the three summer seminars in 1936, 1937 and 1938, and graduated a total of 250 teachers. However, there remained many teachers who were improperly prepared for their task, having been schooled as elementary teachers. Complicating the overall problem were the facts that teachers for adults did not have status in the teaching profession, their pay was not adequate, their hours were unattractive, and many did not work sufficient hours to make a living for their families. Those who continued in this field were truly the dedicated ones. The writer interviewed a veteran teacher, Mrs. Esther Levenharz, who had taught in the evening classes of the Department of Culture and who later became Principal of Ulpan Motzkin in Bet Galim, Haifa.<sup>125</sup> Mrs. Levenharz said that in those days the methods and textual material were not closely related to the needs of the learners. In most instances,



teachers were handed a textbook and told to instruct, without any suggestion of method or approach. Book knowledge, translations and grammar were stressed, at the expense of developing conversational skills. Although some drill and review were conducted, the achievement fell short of the expectations. The students learned more or less on a "hit-or-miss" basis. Even the outside environment did not motivate them sufficiently. Nevertheless, Mrs. Levenharz continued, gradual strides were made and the teachers learned by trial and error. "What we are doing now in the ulpanim," she concluded, "is an extension of the experience gained in the days of the Department of Culture. We have refined our older methods, discarded some, and in a number of areas have introduced new ones. But the direction was unmistakably set for us in those years."

This period witnessed an awakening by the organized orthodox community in the Yishuv to the fact that the Hebrew language could not remain a language only of prayer and study of the sacred texts, but that it must become a language of daily discourse and communication for all life's needs. The organization of the Orthodox Culture Centre in 1936, and its later integration with the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi, was a tremendous stride in the development of the program to Hebraize the Yishuv. The National Convention for Orthodox Culture and the Sacred Tongue, at the close of 1946, gave direction to the orthodox community and spurred its members to enroll in evening classes and informal culture activities. A special effort was made by the Orthodox Culture Centre and by the Department of Culture to educate the youth and adults--both male and female--of the Near East and oriental communities. Leading the orthodox endeavor were the late Rabbi Abraham Hen,



Director of the Centre, and the National Supervisor, Dr. Haim Lipshutz. Dr. Lipshutz is at present (1960) National Supervisor of the Department of Torah Education and Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The enrollment in the evening classes alternately fell and rose with the ebb and flow of immigration, as in the first period. The promotional campaigns almost always resulted in increased enrollment. Between 1935 and 1945, approximately 175,000 olim arrived in Palestine.<sup>126</sup> (Immigration figures for 1946 and 1947 were not available.) According to Mr. Levin's 1947/48 budget proposal, 60,000 persons had availed themselves of the various programs in the twelve years of the Department's existence. Since this number obviously included many watikin it is impossible to arrive at percentage figure for the number of olim who enrolled in the evening classes and other activities. The writer attempted to get data pertaining to drop-outs, achievement of the learners, how many beginners went on to advanced study, and so on, but no such figures were available in the libraries and files of the Department of Culture, the Zionist Archives, or the Education Library of the Hebrew University.

The fact remains that the overall accomplishments of the varied programs of adult Hebrew language and culture education during this period proved sufficiently effective to ward off any further encroachment by the foreign tongues which threatened the Hebrew language. The Department of Culture succeeded in establishing a pattern of operations which was further developed and built upon by its successor, the Department of Language Teaching of the Ministry of Education and Culture in the State of Israel.



The one man who emerged as the guiding spirit of adult education in this important era was Mr. Nahum Levin. Appointed to serve as the National Supervisor and Inspector of the Department of Culture, he championed the cause of Hebraizing the Yishuv from the speakers' platform, the conference table, the teacher-education seminars, the public relations arena and the classroom itself. He advanced the idea of national responsibility for adult language and culture education. He envisioned the ultimate type of intensive education now known as the ulpanim and he experimented with such programs in the refugee camps of Cyprus, Italy and West Germany. He published a step-by-step manual for teachers of adults and many of his pedagogical approaches are in use today. Despite many disappointments, he never became discouraged and always looked with optimism to the brighter future, when the Yishuv would finally recognize its responsibilities and the Hebrew language and culture would flourish in the homeland.



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2. Moshe Attias, Knesset Yisrael, p. 181.
3. Berl Katznelson, <sup>Kitabin</sup> Kitvei, Vol. VI., p. 264.
4. Yaacob Zondak, <sup>bank</sup> "Ha-baaya ha-tarbutit ba-aliya ha-hadasha," Hapoel Hatzair, No. 7, 1933, p. 27.
5. Report of Merkaz ha-tarbut la-Histadrut, Peulot ha-tarbut, Tel Aviv, 1935, p. 12.
6. Moshe Attias, Op. cit., p. 184.
7. Ibid., p. 185.
8. Ibid.
9. Interview with Mr. Levin, September 3, 1959.
10. Nineteenth World Zionist Congress, held in Lucerne, Switzerland, August 20-September 4, 1935. Approval given for the establishment of the Department of Culture in the Vaad Leumi. Dr. Chaim Weizmann presided at the Congress.
11. Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi, Peulatenu be-shetah hanhalat ha-lashon veha-tarbut be-artzenu, Jerusalem, March, 1936, (32 pp.), p. 2.
12. Ibid., p. 3.
13. Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi, Tarbutenu be-artzenu, Vol. I, No. 1, Tevet, 1936, p. 2.
14. Moshe Attias, Op. cit., p. 185.
15. Tarbutenu be-artzenu, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 3.
16. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
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18. Gershon Hanoh, "Hevlei ha-aliya ha-kedosha," Haolam, Feb. 28, 1935, p. 5.
19. Moshe Brill, "Lemidat ha-mebugar," Ha-hinukh, No. 1, Sept. 1937, pp. 110-122.
20. Tarbutenu be-artzenu, Vol. I, No. 2, Nisan, 1937, p. 5.



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21. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
22. Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi, Correspondence File, 1936-38, Zionist Archives, Jerusalem. Letter to Dr. J. Lurie from the principal of the Reali School, August 26, 1937. Letter from Mr. Nahum Levin to Mr. Zeev Karmi, Principal of Public School Aleph in Haifa, August 12, 1937.
23. Tarbutenu be-artzenu, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 6-9.
24. Tarbutenu be-artzenu, Vol. I, Nos. 3-4, Tevet, 1937, pp. 3-6.
25. Ibid., p. 6.
26. Tarbutenu be-artzenu, Vol. II, Nos. 5-6, Tamuz, 1938, p. 3.
27. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
28. Ibid., p. 4.
29. Tarbutenu be-artzenu, Vol. II, Nos. 7-8, Tevet, 1938, p. 8.
30. Ibid., p. 9.
31. Nahum Levin, Din we-heshbon me-mahleket ha-tarbut, August, 1938, (in mimeographed form at the Zionist Archives, Department of Culture Folder, 12 pp.) p. 1.
32. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
33. Yaacob Zondak<sup>hak</sup>, Bi-netivei ha-tarbut, pp. 112-115.
34. Nahum Levin, Tokhnit ha-limudim le-morei Ivrit li-mebugarim, Department of Culture Seminar Section, Jerusalem, 1938, (13 pp.), pp. i-ii, pp. 1-3.
35. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
36. Ibid., pp. 6-12.
37. Nahum Levin, Seminar kayitz le-morei Ivrit li-mebugarim, Department of Culture, Vaad Leumi, Jerusalem, 1937, 17 pp.
38. Statement by Dr. A. Bein, Librarian at the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, in response to inquiry of writer. The writer also searched in vain in catalogues at the National Library in Jerusalem for other "guides."
39. The Berlitz method of teaching foreign languages is wide-spread in eighteen countries, according to Mrs. Yerushalmi, Director of



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the Berlitz School in Jerusalem. During the period of the British Mandate, the Hebrew division of the school was very busy. Jewish and British students enrolled in classes and, according to Mrs. Yerushalmi, the progress in learning Hebrew conversation was "fantasti." The Hebrew classes have fallen into disuse since the founding of the State. However, some of the techniques of the Berlitz method are still being used, although these have been refined and made more suitable to the present needs. The writer was told of four very successful ulpan teachers, and one who is a principal of an ulpan, who obtained their first experience as teachers in the Berlitz School.

40. The pure grammar method is now (1961) entirely abandoned as a method of teaching Hebrew in Israel (opinion of teachers questioned).
41. Nahum Levin, Seminar kayitz le-morei Ivrit li-mebugarim, pp. 10.
42. "Pegishat artzit shel morei Ivrit li-mebugarim," Tarbutenu be-artzenu, Vol. III, No. 1, May 1938, Department of Culture, Jerusalem, pp. 6-7.
43. Moshe Attias, op. cit., pp. 87-88.
44. Nahum Levin, Din we-heshbon--peulot ha-mahlaka le-tarbut, 1939, submitted to the Vaad Leumi, mimeographed, (16pp.) pp. 2-3.
45. Kruz ha-mifal, Department of Culture, May 1939, Correspondence File, Vaad Leumi, Jerusalem.
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50. Ibid.
51. Peulatenu bi-tehume ha-lashon weha-tarbut be-artzenu, Department of Culture, Vaad Leumi, Jerusalem, 1940 (32 pp.) p. 5.
52. Moshe Attias, op. cit., p. 88.
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54. Ibid., pp. 89-90.
55. Peulatenu bi-tehume ha-lashon weha-tarbut be-artzenu, p. 10.



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58. Ibid., p. 8.
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62. Ibid., p. 2.
63. Peulatemu bi-tehume ha-lashon weha-tarbut be-artzenu, p. 13.
64. Ibid., p. 23.
65. Ibid., p. 25.
66. Ibid., pp. 27-29.
67. Ibid., pp. 30-31.
68. Tarbut bi-shnat milhama, Culture Centre of Histadrut, Summary of Activities, Ahdut Press, Tel Aviv, 1941, 80 pp., foreword, p. I.
69. Ibid., p. 20.
70. Ibid., p. 25.
71. See Part I, p. 7.
72. Centre for Orthodox Culture, Memorandum to Department of Culture, Vaad Leumi, Jerusalem, May, 1940, 5 pp. (mimeographed).
73. Correspondence folder from archives supplied to writer by Dr. Haim Lipshutz. Archives of Ministry of Education and Culture.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Din ve-heshbon li-tekufat Kislev, tash - Tevet, tashab (Report for period from November, 1940, to December, 1942), Department of Culture, Vaad Leumi, Jerusalem, 1942, 8 pp.
77. Ibid., p. 1.
78. Ibid., p. 4.
79. Ibid., p. 7.
80. Haskalat ha-am ba-arets weha-hinukh ha-ivri ba-tefutzot, Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem, 1944, 115 pp.
81. Only those observations relating to adult education in the Yishuv will be dealt with in this paper.
82. Haskalat ha-am ba-arets..., p. 44.
83. Dr. Marani became the Supervisor of the Jerusalem region of the Department of Language Teaching in the Ministry of Education. He is now retired. (Ibid., p. 99.)
84. Hanokh Darotz, "Ha-horaah li-mebugarim," Hed ha-hinukh, No. 11-12, July-August, 1944, Tel Aviv, pp. 35-36.
85. Ibid., p. 36.



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89. Ibid., p. 85.
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95. Letter to Rabbi A. Hen from Rabbi Isaac Halevi Herzog, Conference File, Department of Torah Education and Culture, Ministry of Education, Jerusalem.
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101. Ibid., p. 3. Errors made in addition in the original copy were corrected by the writer.
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106. Ibid., p. 7.
107. Special Release--Department of Information and Interpretation, The Vaad Leumi of the Knesset Yisrael in Eretz Yisrael, Emergency Meeting of the Elected Assembly, November 18, 1947, Jerusalem, p. 2.
108. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
109. Personal interview with Mr. Levin, August 15, 1959.
110. Letter to Mr. Nahum Levin from Mr. Eliyahu Dobkin, July 15, 1947. From the private collection in Mr. Levin's library.
111. Special Release (op. cit.), including Mr. Levin's Progress Report, p. 4.
112. Ibid., p. 6.
113. Darhei ha-peula shel ha-mahlaka, Memorandum and Budget submitted to the Elected Assembly by the Department of Culture, November 25, 1947, Jerusalem (5 pp.), p. 1.
114. Ibid., p. 2.
115. Ibid., p. 3.
116. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
117. Zvi Luria, Statement at news conference, Vaad Leumi of Knesset Yisrael, Jerusalem, December 13, 1947. From private collection of Mr. Moshe Attias, then Secretary of the Vaad Leumi.
118. Ibid., p. 1.
119. Ibid., p. 2.
120. Hearot le-taktziv ha-mahlaka, submitted by Department of Culture to the Vaad Leumi, January 15, 1948, Jerusalem, (7 pp.) Private collection of Mr. Moshe Attias.
121. Ibid., p. 1.
122. Ibid., p. 3.
123. At the then current value of the Palestine lira (\$4.00), the Director's salary was equivalent to \$4,000.00, which was a considerable amount by Palestinian standards at that time.
124. Interview with Mr. Bezalel Shahar at the executive offices of the Histadrut in Tel Aviv on January 25, 1960. Mr. Shahar invited his associates, Mr. Joseph Zak and Mr. Katriel Yaacob, to sit in on the interview and react to questions the writer posed.  
Interview with Mr. Moshe Attias, former Secretary General of



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the Vaad Leumi, on February 16, 1960. Mr. Attias has been serving as Director of the Department of Education and Culture in Jerusalem.

125. Interview with Mrs. Esther Levenhartz on March 15, 1960.
126. American Jewish Year Book, Vols. 38-47, Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1935-1944.



PART THREE

ADULT LANGUAGE AND CULTURE EDUCATION IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL

FROM 1948 TO 1960



PART III. ADULT LANGUAGE AND CULTURE EDUCATION IN THE STATE OF  
ISRAEL FROM 1948 TO 1960.

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Chapter I.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

A period of nine months intervened between the establishment of the State of Israel and the final dissolution of the Vaad Leumi of the Knesset Yisrael as the official body representing the Jewish Community in Eretz Yisrael.

On the fifteenth day of Shevat, 1949, the final session of the Elected Assembly was held in Jerusalem. Mr. Yitzhak ben Zvi, President of the Vaad Leumi, appointed Mr. David Remez to chair the meeting and to assume the responsibility of guiding the transfer of operations. The executive committee sitting in session included Eliyahu Berlin, Meir Grabowsky, Zerah Wahrhaftig, Rachel Cohen, Saadia Kuvshi, Zvi Luria, Dr. G. Landauer, Nahum Nir, David Zvi Pinkus, Dr. Abraham Katznelson, Berl Rappaport, Mordecai Shitner and Moshe Attias, general secretary of the Vaad Leumi.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Remez explained that the proclamation of May 14, 1948, announcing the establishment of the State of Israel, marked the natural terminal point of the existence of the Vaad Leumi as the organization which represented the Yishuv.<sup>2</sup> However, the Vaad Leumi and the Jewish Agency in Eretz Yisrael had placed their vast experience at the service of the Provisionary Government for the transition period. They became, in effect, partners with the government in shouldering the new tasks and responsibilities imposed on it.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Ben Zvi delivered an eloquent message in which he pointed out the exalted privilege of being the generation during whose lifetime the redemption has come, and the extraordinary burdens facing



the Yishuv to make it worthy of this redemption. He stated that the rejuvenating spirit of the Hebrew language had been a vital factor in the events which led to the establishment of the Commonwealth of Israel. Mr. Ben Zvi said:

The great vision of Eliezer ben Yehuda of a reborn and pulsating Hebrew language in the national homeland has become a monumental reality. This language forms the link and close bonds between our past and future, and in the present it guarantees that the returning tribes of Israel who come with a babel of tongues will have a single national language. The Hebrew language is the strongest safeguard for the future of our cooperative national and creative life... (4)

Dr. Abraham Katznelson stressed the importance of giving dignity and status to the education of new immigrants. He envisaged the activities of education and culture increasing to unprecedented proportions with the ingathering of the exiles, and urged that the government establish a department of culture and education with broad responsibilities and ample funds to administer its manifold programs. Dr. Katznelson commended the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi by asserting that in its thirteen years of operation the Department of Culture had made impressive accomplishments. He stated that the Department's efforts to disseminate the values of the Hebrew language to the life in the Yishuv would remain as the foundation upon which future programming would be built.<sup>5</sup>

On the first day of Elul, 1948, Mr. David Remez had assumed the post of Minister of Communications, and the Education Department was transferred from the Vaad Leumi to the Provisionary Government under the joint direction of the Council of Ministers headed by Mr. Remez. In February, 1949, the Department of Culture was attached to the Department of Education, with offices in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and



Mr. Zalman Shazar was appointed the first Minister of Education and Culture of the State of Israel.<sup>6</sup>



Chapter II.

MASS IMMIGRATION AND THE URGENT NEED TO ABSORB IT INTO THE LIFE OF THE  
YOUNG STATE

On May 15, 1948, Israel was proclaimed a sovereign state by the Yishuv and within forty-eight hours it was recognized by the two most powerful nations of the world.<sup>7</sup> The gates of Israel were immediately opened to receive the masses of the Jewish people from all parts of the world who sought a haven and a place of refuge.

During the period from May 15, 1948, to December 31, 1951, the huge influx of 684,883 men, women and children entered the land. The Jewish population which, on May 15, 1948, had numbered approximately 650,000, had been more than doubled to an overall record of 1,334,883 persons. The problem of absorption was enormous, giving the newly-formed government an unprecedented challenge and "wellnigh a superhuman task."<sup>8</sup> What faced the State of Israel was an enormous rehabilitation program on the social, economic and cultural levels.

Mrs. Paula Apenshlak, Director of Ulpanim in the Department of Immigration Absorption of the Jewish Agency, recalled the hectic activities of those early years in an interview with the writer. She said that representatives of the Jewish Agency met and welcomed hundreds of thousands of the new arrivals. These immigrants had to be provided with immediate housing, food and clothing. They had to be given medical attention and, often, instruction in personal hygiene. Family units had to be kept together and job opportunities had to be found. A vital part of the rehabilitation and retraining process was the learning of the Hebrew language and Israeli culture.<sup>9</sup>



The composition of the vast ingathering was as follows: Eastern European countries, 33.9%; Asian countries, 35.7%; African countries, 14%; Central European and Balkan countries, 13.7%; other countries, 1.7%. The largest single group of European immigrants came from Poland --over 104,000 up to the end of May, 1951. The second largest group was from Rumania--69,000 in the same period. The first Jewish community to be transferred in its entirety was that of Bulgaria, followed by most of the Jewish survivors of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Almost the entire Jewish community of Tripolitania and Libya came to Israel, and numerous immigrants from Morocco, Tunis and Algeria. In 1949, the whole Jewish community of Yemen, over 50,000 persons, was transferred to Israel by airlift. In 1951, almost the entire Jewish community of Iraq, totalling 120,000, arrived in Israel, also by airlift.<sup>10</sup>

The education of these immigrants, particularly the immigrant workers, was confronted with two main problems: 1) What is the aim of this education during the absorption period? 2) What are the means best suited toward the fulfillment of that aim?<sup>11</sup>

Mr. David ben Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel, defined the purpose of educating this new immigration. He said:

We shall bring into the country a nation of unusual character, spread all over the world, speaking many languages, influenced by many cultures, divided into various communities and sects. It is our duty to cast this differentiated and colourful people, into the mould of a reformed nation. We have to uproot all the geographical, cultural, social and linguistic divisions which separate them and give them one language, one culture and one citizenship. (12)

Mr. Joseph Shaked, Director of the Department of Language Teaching of the Ministry of Education and Culture, observed that if, accor-



ding to Mr. Ben Gurion's definition, the blending of the immigrants is the educational goal to be achieved, then the teaching of the Hebrew language becomes the first step toward removing the divisions between the immigrants themselves, and between them and the watikin. The need for a guided program for integration of the immigrants, aimed at their absorption into the Hebrew culture and the Israeli way of life, was more acute at this time because of the increase in the number of countries from which the immigrants came and the many languages spoken by them. Mr. Shaked added that the definition called for the teaching of an elementary knowledge of the land, the history of the Jewish people and the labor and Zionist movements; that it should open the way to the learning of Bible, Aggadah and modern Hebrew literature; and that the uneducated among the masses should acquire fundamental general knowledge in addition to basic Jewish knowledge. Mr. Shaked concluded that the acquisition of the culture of the State, the uprooting of ignorance and the raising of the cultural level are all basic ingredients for the integration of the exiles.<sup>13</sup>



Chapter III.

SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE OF THE MINISTRY OF  
EDUCATION AND CULTURE, 1948-1950

The Ministry of Education and Culture designated the Department of Culture to assume the full responsibility for providing educational, cultural and cultural-recreational opportunities to the new immigrants. Mr. Nahum Levin was appointed to head this department.<sup>14</sup>

In March, 1950, Mr. Levin submitted to the Ministry of Education and Culture a report on the purposes, current activities and future plans of the Department of Culture.<sup>15</sup> In the preface to his report, Mr. Levin stated that the Department considered as its main task the cultural and spiritual absorption of the aliyah in the homeland. There was no doubt, he said, that the future of the State would depend upon the success of this activity. He explained that the problem which confronted the Yishuv at this time, when large masses of immigrants were coming into the land, was how to inculcate in their minds and hearts a yearning and motivation for the Israeli consciousness and character, as well as how to implement a suitable program of cultural activity commensurate with the growing and pressing needs. He proposed three approaches, each complementing the other: 1) launching a mass nation-wide cultural absorption program; 2) creating a mass people's movement on behalf of Hebrew-for-all; and 3) making adherence to the language the law of the land.

The cultural absorption program called for the establishment of a network of cultural-recreational centers in every part of the land; the expansion of Hebrew language evening classes and the opening of



more intensive Hebrew language programs of the ulpan type<sup>16</sup>; the organization of cooperative programs with the Histadrut Culture Centre; the publication of a vowelised weekly for the oleh; the encouragement of publishers and textbook writers to create suitable texts for the new immigrants; and the convening of regular institutes and seminars for teachers of adults and youth.

Mr. Levin elaborated on each of these areas of operation. In reference to the opening of recreational-cultural centers, he stressed the need to establish such centers in every location in the land to serve as a meeting place for the social and cultural life of the new immigrants. He said that, in the light of experience, the culture centers were a powerful influence in strengthening the determination of the immigrants to learn Hebrew and to relate themselves enthusiastically to the ways of their new environment. He stated that the registration of adults for evening classes, and their subsequent attendance, was limited in immigrant settlements at which no culture centers were operative. However, in settlements of comparable population and cultural background, where there were culture centers, the numbers of registrants in the evening language classes were in the hundreds, and their interest and attendance had a sustained quality.

In all, the Department opened and operated 54 culture-recreational centers in the land: 29 in immigrant camps and 25 in immigrant settlements. Mr. Levin stated that the number of such centers was regrettably small. Lack of finances and the difficulty of properly staffing the existing ones were the deterring factors in opening new ones. He felt that there was need for 100 additional centers in various parts of the land, particularly in immigrant camps.



The teachers and cultural workers at these centers came from the ranks of the federation of teachers, university students, culture workers from the general and orthodox labor groups, and others. The curriculum consisted of the Hebrew language, the Prophets, Hebrew literature, knowledge of the homeland, Israeli and world-Jewry current events, and the arts. Basic education, including courses in elementary arithmetic and simple bookkeeping, was also offered. The Ministry of Education and Culture, through its Department of Culture, and the Jewish Agency, through its Absorption Department, bore the full budget of the culture centers for the new immigrants.

Mr. Levin considered the problems of hanhalat ha-lashon to have pedagogic, social and political implications. On the one hand, he said, it was important to ease for the adult students the task of learning by providing them with competent teachers, proper courses of study, suitable text books and teaching aids, such as dictionaries and conversational pamphlets. At the same time, it was necessary to create a proper national and local climate which would induce the new immigrants to learn the language. They were to be made to feel that the government and the people view the Hebrew language as the vital foundation for life in Israel.

Of particular urgency was the need for adequately trained teachers and supervisors. Beginning October 10, 1949, a three-day seminar was held in Lydda. Fifty teachers of adults in the immigrant settlements participated. The program included sessions on methods and demonstration lessons in teaching knowledge of the homeland, group singing, and so on. District seminars were conducted in all parts of



the land, at which particular attention was given to pedagogic problems and teaching materials. A new textbook for beginners, Dapim le-ivrit, which had been published by the Department, was introduced and explained at these seminars. The text was circulated in three thousand copies.

Early in 1950 the Department of Culture opened a special office of supervision and pedagogic training for teachers of adults. Supervisors made frequent visits to classes, organized institutes and seminars for teachers and encouraged the publication of suitable texts. This overall effort proved effective in the operation of the adult evening classes, according to Mr. Levin.

The network of classes in the cities, moshavot, immigrant camps, a portion of the immigrant settlements, and the transient camps, comprised a total enrollment (as of January, 1950) of 21,619 students. Among these were 6,839 youth and children. Instructing the students were 322 full-time and part-time teachers, in 920 class units.<sup>17</sup>

The above-mentioned classes were geared for the general immigrant population and were limited in the number of class-hours per week, usually meeting three times a week for  $1\frac{1}{2}$ -hour sessions. This type of program, however, was not adequate for the substantial number of professionals and intellectuals among the immigrants whose special talents were desperately required by the Yishuv at this critical time. In order to "harness this potential" for the good of the Yishuv and for the individuals involved, special schools for intensive Hebrew language and culture education were established. These schools were called ulpanim.

In cooperation with the Jewish Agency, the Department of Culture



opened the first Ulpan in October, 1949, in the Baka district in Jerusalem. At this ulpan, named Etzion,<sup>18</sup> one hundred and twenty-seven men and women were enrolled during its first semester. Among the students were teachers, doctors, nurses, attorneys, architects, engineers, reporters and journalists, office executives, clerks and artists.

The day's studies consisted of seven hours--four hours in classes and three hours in lesson preparation with the help of teachers. In addition to class instruction, lectures, art exhibits and trips were organized. The first class was graduated on February 14, 1950. In his report, Mr. Levin praised the achievements of the students and asserted that the Ulpan had demonstrated its essential contribution. He felt assured that the graduating students would each assume a proper place in his or her profession.

Two additional ulpanim were organized in the 1949-1950 school year. One was in Bet Lid, at which sixty persons were enrolled. The other was at Beit Borokhov on Mount Carmel, Haifa, which was established with the cooperation of the labor council of Haifa. It also had an enrollment of sixty students. Plans called for the opening of another ulpan in Jerusalem in the Mahaneh Yisrael district in February of 1950.

Judging by their rapid acceptance, Mr. Levin indicated that ulpanim were needed in every part of the land. He said that the Department proposed to open ten additional ulpanim during the current year (1950) and he predicted a possible enrollment of twelve hundred to fifteen hundred persons.

In September, 1949, a vowelless weekly newspaper, Proztor, was



published by the Department of Culture. Mr. Levin felt that the linguistic and cultural adaptation of the new immigrants to the homeland would be facilitated by a vowelized Hebrew newspaper. He would have preferred a daily paper, but the budget for this was not available. The Prozdor contained news items, biographical sketches of immigrants and noted Jewish personalities, and a pictorial section featuring individuals, scenery, historical sites and current events such as immigrant landings in Israel and their placement in immigrant settlements. Jewish National Fund activities were given a special column in the paper. Projects in resettlement, reafforestation and land clearing were described in copy and in pictures. A selected listing of functional Hebrew vocabulary was presented in every issue, with translations and definitions in Yiddish, French, Espanolish and English. The editor of the Prozdor attempted to gear the language and content of the paper to the comprehension and interest of the readers. He kept in close touch with the teachers and students to determine what material to include.

Twelve thousand copies of the Prozdor were printed each week, and were distributed in the immigrant camps, immigrant settlements and to students in the evening classes throughout the country. Copies were sold at newsstands and to private subscribers. The newspaper was also delivered to Israeli consulates and embassies abroad.<sup>19</sup>

An agreement was reached between the Department of Culture and the Histadrut Culture Centre which made possible the expansion of the program of language teaching to include hundreds of additional classes for new immigrants. In locations where the majority of the students



were members of the Histadrut, it was the responsibility of the Culture Centre to organize the classes and to appoint the teachers, who were certified by the Department of Culture. The Department's Office of Supervision and Teacher-training provided the supervision for the classes and supported them financially to the extent of forty per cent of their budget.

Mr. Levin's second approach to the problem of cultural and spiritual absorption of the immigrants was to create a mass people's movement for teaching the Hebrew language. This project included special classes for the police force, for government workers, for prison inmates, for the youth, and citizenship education for all the new olim.

As early as March, 1948, the police headquarters requested the Department of Culture to organize language and culture classes for the police, among whom there were many who were deficient in their knowledge of Hebrew. Over five hundred police constables enrolled in forty classes--beginners, intermediate and advanced. The police band was placed at the disposal of the Department of Culture and performed in the immigrant settlements, bringing encouragement and pleasure to the masses.

At the end of 1948, the Department sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister, calling his attention to the fact that a large number of government employees--office staff and maintenance help--needed improvement in their Hebrew speaking and writing skills. The memorandum recommended that the Prime Minister authorize the opening of regular classes for these employees in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem.



A directive was issued by the Prime Minister's office for required attendance by employees needing such class instruction. Classes were organized and the students were graded according to their knowledge. Five hundred students were enrolled in forty classes.

Language and citizenship instruction was given to prisoners at the Tel Mond Prison and local jails. A special teacher was in charge of classes and cultural-recreational activities. One hundred and forty inmates attended the classes and participated in the cultural program.

The Department of Culture launched a broad program of providing language and culture instruction to the thousands of youths among the new immigrants. These classes met in club houses and culture centers. Mr. Levin stated that after a comparatively brief period, the immigrant youth spoke Hebrew, and that the linguistic barrier between them and the Israeli resident youth was gradually being removed. Special classes were organized for the Yemenite youth who, in addition to language education, required basic knowledge in arithmetic, in Israeli history and geography, in religious concepts and practices, and in personal hygiene. For this specialized education, a teacher-counsellor seminar was conducted over a period of one week beginning January 2, 1950. The seminar issued guides and manuals to teachers and counsellors. Mr. Levin felt confident, judging from the results achieved, that given an adequate budget a meaningful program for the social and cultural adaptation of these youth could be developed. In all, a total of 6,839 youths registered in 167 classes.

The Department of Culture created two new divisions to handle its program of citizenship education for the new immigrants. The division



for Israeli geography and history issued pamphlets and organized trips and outings throughout the land. The drama and art division organized choirs, dance groups and art classes among the immigrants. On important days, festivals and memorial days, theater groups gave performances involving the olim.

In June, 1949, a regional office for language and culture was opened in Beersheba, serving the growing local population and the neighboring settlements. The activity in Beersheba was carried out in cooperation with the Histadrut Culture Centre. A library was opened there with over one thousand volumes.

Mr. Levin was cognizant of the fact that the government alone could not achieve the vast goals required to bring about the cultural integration of the Yishuv. He called upon the people to help meet the challenge by supporting the programs with their blessings and good will. The government, he said, needed a large staff of competent and devoted workers--teachers, guides, lecturers and artists--for whom their task would represent a mission. But supporting this huge government enterprise must be the general public--the people. He explained that the chief assignment of the people's movement should be a campaign of friendship and harmony, of willingness and enthusiasm to strive to erase the boundaries and remove the misunderstandings that existed between the old Yishuv and their brethren who had recently arrived. He suggested that the mass movement should bear the name Hevrah Yisrael la-tarbut (The Israeli Association for Culture), and should invite the membership of every citizen. Mr. Levin recommended that this temat am (people's movement) be organized by the



Government Council for Culture which was scheduled to be set up in April, 1950.

Mr. Levin's third approach to the problem of cultural and spiritual absorption of the immigrants was to make adherence to the language the law of the land. This would have obligated the masses, particularly the adults in the labor force, to acquire the basic rudiments of the Hebrew language. He advocated the passage of three laws, similar to the public education law. They were:

1. The Law of Hebrew Climate and Environment. This law would protect the State from the spread of foreign newspapers, from public appearances and performances in foreign languages, and from the wide use of signs, labels and posters written in foreign languages. It would require that business and professional negotiations be held in Hebrew, and that bookkeeping and auditing be done in Hebrew in all government offices and public establishments of commercial and manufacturing endeavors. Furthermore, the law would require that there be Hebrew translations to foreign films shown.

2. The Law of Hebrew Language Study. This law would require of every person in Israel, if he does not know Hebrew, to learn the language to a minimum which would be determined by a government agency. Such a person, upon application for a job at a government or private office, would be asked to produce his pinkas lomed (learner's card). The card will indicate the applicant's status, if he is studying Hebrew or if he has been exempt. Without the learner's card, the applicant would not be accepted for employment in a government agency, and an



Israeli citizen who did not know Hebrew would not be permitted to vote in local or national elections.

3. The Law of Financial Participation. This statute would require the local authorities to share financially in the maintenance of cultural programs, and especially in the programs of teaching the Hebrew language to adults. The local contribution would be pro-rated, according to a formula to be established. Furthermore, it would be necessary for the local authorities to implement, in their jurisdiction, the standards set forth in the culture campaign, the people's movement and the language laws of the land. In this way, the local councils would join in bringing about the spiritual and cultural rehabilitation of the ingathered exiles.<sup>20</sup>

There was strong opposition to Mr. Levin's advocacy to legislate the study of Hebrew by new immigrants. The criticism came from professors at the Hebrew University and from Immigrant associations. Joining Mr. Levin were Mr. Shmuel Yavnieli representing the Culture Centre of the Histadrut, and officials of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Government approved the recommendation. However, the law was not passed.

In projecting the future programs for Hebrew language and culture education in the new state, Mr. Levin underscored the necessity for mutual understanding and cooperation between the older residents of Israel and the new immigrants. He summoned the government to take deliberate steps to effect a change of attitude, and also to respond to the greater financial needs for a broader program of acculturation.



He stressed the government's responsibility to educate the entire citizenry, not only the new immigrants but the watikim as well, among whom many were Hebrew illiterates. The government must be concerned with the basic language and cultural needs of its citizens, he said, in the same way that it is concerned with their economic and security needs.

Mr. Levin's plea for mutual understanding was obviously in reference to the prejudices which existed in the attitude of certain segments of the Yishuv's population toward the new immigrants, particularly those from the Middle East and oriental communities. These watikim considered many of the newcomers to be culturally inferior. The new immigrants sensed that they were not being offered equal opportunities in the economic, social and political life of the country. It should be pointed out that the writer found these conditions still to exist, even as late as 1960. Mr. Levin's philosophy was that education, and the subsequent raising of cultural levels, would erase the barriers and bring about greater unity and harmony between the groups for the welfare of all of the people in the new state.



Chapter IV.

ULPAN ETZION

Ulpán Etzion in Jerusalem was the first laboratory for intensive Hebrew language and culture education in Israel. From its outset, experiments were conducted in methods of instruction, classification of students, textual material and teaching aids, procedures for faculty meetings, teacher-pupil relationships and so on. In the main, the other ulpanim in the country have followed the educational pattern established and pursued at Etzion, with the one exception of Ulpán Akiba at Netanya which will be discussed in another chapter.

The earliest data the writer found which dealt with the organization of an ulpan in Jerusalem were the minutes of a meeting held on August 8, 1949, called by Professor Benzion Dinur of the Hebrew University.<sup>21</sup> Attending this meeting were Mr. M. Bornstein, Principal of the Bezalel School, Dr. H. Grushko, Dr. K. Frankenstein, Mr. Spitzer of the Culture Division of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Mrs. D. Eliner, Director of the Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency, and Professor Dinur.

Professor Dinur stated that the problem of the cultural absorption of the new immigrants was of great concern to Hebrew University people as well as to those in the Department of Absorption. He expressed his gratification with the fact that the Department of Absorption had decided to implement a plan to make it possible for a number of professionals and academicians to devote several months to study and to acclimate themselves to life in Israel.



Mrs. Eliner reported the decision of the Department of Absorption to make available two houses in the Baka section of Jerusalem, which were suited to house about eighty persons, and to serve meals to the residents during their proposed study period of three to six months. Families of these students were to live in immigrant homes nearby.

After considerable discussion by the members of the committee, certain decisions were arrived at in regard to curriculum, selection of students and organization of the ulpan.

The curriculum was to offer the study of Hebrew in an intensive manner, to meet life n eeds. It was to be administered by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The method of study would be geared to cultured, intelligent people. It would be necessary to teach the language with all the technical and professional terminologies and concepts. Professor Dinur volunteered to work on the curriculum.

The committee would consider for admittance doctors, lawyers, office clerks, graphists, actors, architects, engineers, social workers and so on. Dr. Grushko would submit the names of a number of doctors. As far as the other professionals were concerned, a selection committee to be appointed in Tel Aviv would make the determination.

The Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency would be responsible for the maintenance of the ulpan. The committee to organize the ulpan would include an office-employment authority to advise in this area. It was agreed that a leading teacher in one of the business schools should be invited to serve. This committee would also prepare a course of study for the ulpan and would be the advisory arm to the administration of the school even after it was opened.<sup>22</sup>



On September 4, 1949, another meeting was held to discuss matters pertaining to the opening of the ulpan.<sup>23</sup> In attendance were Dr. Bar-Dayana, Mr. M. Bornstein, Dr. Sharf, Professor Dinur and Mrs. D. Eliner.

Professor Dinur suggested a name for the ulpan: Ohaliva, bet ulpan la-lashon we-la-tarbut la-oleh (Ohaliva, House of the Ulpan of Language and Culture for the Immigrant). The name was accepted by the committee. However, it was never used.<sup>24</sup>

Dr. Sharf reported that the selection committee had approved the admission of fifty candidates to the ulpan, among whom were teachers, lawyers, actors and bookkeepers. He stated that courses aimed at retraining and specialization would be offered, but without obligation to provide employment.

Dr. Bar-Dayana observed that the ulpan would be of great value to teachers who already knew Hebrew but who required proficiency and specialization to equip them to assume teaching positions.

A committee on curriculum was appointed, consisting of Professor Dinur, Dr. A. Maimon, Dr. Bar-Dayana and Mr. Moshe Raat.

On September 27, 1949, the final meeting of the Ulpan Steering Committee was held.<sup>25</sup> In attendance at the meeting were: from the Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency -- Dr. Haim Yahil, L. Aharon, Mr. Rosenthal and Mrs. D. Eliner; from the Department of Culture of the Ministry of Education and Culture -- Mr. Nahum Levin, Mr. Moshe Raat and Dr. Bar-Dayana. The date for the opening of the ulpan was set for October 16, 1949. Decisions were made in regard to the organization of classes and the hours of instruction, classi-



fication of students, and the budget.

There were to be six groupings, including three beginners' and three intermediate classes. Beginners were to have seventeen hours of instruction per week, from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon. Intermediates were to have twenty-two hours of instruction per week, from 8:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon. On Fridays, classes were to be held for only two hours. In addition to classroom instruction, students were to be required to do homework each afternoon for three hours under the guidance of two teacher-group leaders and the coordinator. Twice weekly, lectures were to be scheduled. Twice monthly, there were to be social gatherings, and once a month a trip was to be scheduled. After three months of study, the students were to be offered a specialized course aimed at training each one for his or her profession.

The maximum number of internists (students boarding in the dormitory) was set at one hundred and twenty students. No more than fifteen externists (students attending classes, but living away from the ulpan) were to be accepted. A committee consisting of representatives from the Department of Absorption and the Department of Culture would set the limit of admission. There was to be a trial period of one month to determine which students were eligible to remain.

The budget was tentatively fixed at 695 lirot per month. This amount would pay the salaries of six teachers and two teacher-group leaders. Mr. Levin stated that the Ministry of Education and Culture would pay 250 lirot per month. Dr. Yahil added that he would receive approval from the Department of Absorption to pay the balance. The cost of one-time expenditures, such as a radio, phonograph, pictures,



charts and so forth, estimated at 75 lirot, would be sought from a private donor. The budgetary expenditures were to begin three weeks before the official opening of the ulpan.

The committee considered the amount needed for student pocket-money. It set a limit of two lirot per month per student, and authorized a budget of 200 lirot per month for this purpose. The committee felt that not every student would find need for such a grant.

As of the date of this meeting, September 27, 111 students had enrolled, of whom 99 were internists and 12 were externists. Of this number, 62 were married and 49 were single. The age range of the students was from thirty to sixty.

On December 1, 1949, Dr. Mordecai Kamrat, Principal of the Ulpan la-oleh (it was still not known as Etzion), submitted his first report to the Ulpan Steering Committee. Dr. Kamrat stated that, after many problems in administration, housing, admission and classification of students, and engaging of teachers, the situation had resolved itself to the extent that he was able to present a fairly complete progress report.<sup>26</sup>

There was an enrollment in the Ulpan of 130 students, whose average age was forty-one. These students had been referred to the ulpan from all parts of the State. They came from eighteen countries of origin: Yugoslavia, 46; Bulgaria, 23; Czechoslovakia, 16; Poland, 11; Russia, 10; Hungary, 6; Rumania, 3; Austria, 3; Germany, 2; Sweden, France, Italy, Greece and the United States, 1 each; and 5 from the Middle East. The professional breakdown of the students was as follows: 25 teachers, 9 authors and journalists; 26 attorneys;



4 judges; 2 psychologists; 2 actors; 2 pharmacists; 1 doctor; 1 chemist; 9 students; 26 bookkeepers; 11 clerks; 4 bank managers; 1 translator; 2 printers; 1 pianist; 1 theater manager; 1 film expert; 1 merchant; and 1 nurse.

The faculty consisted of six teachers, including Dr. Kamrat. The classes were organized as follows:

<u>CLASS</u>	<u>ENROLLMENT</u>	<u>TEACHER</u>
Aleph <sub>aleph</sub> (beginners)	26	Sara Rothbart*
Aleph <sub>bet</sub> (beginners)	30	Mordecai Kamrat*
Aleph <sub>gimel</sub> (beginners)	11	Shoshana Eton*
Bet <sub>aleph</sub> (intermediates)	28	Yehoshua Neumark*
(This class was taught in two groups, Shoshana Eton sharing the instruction.)		
Bet <sub>bet</sub> (intermediates)	19	Yehuda Feingold
Gimel (advanced)	22	H. Zeidman

\*Teacher still in employ of Ulpan Etzion (April, 1960).

The professional staff included two teacher-group leaders who were responsible for arranging socials and holiday celebrations, and for assisting the students in their homework assignments.

During the month of November, seven teachers' meetings were held. The pedagogic and administrative problems which were discussed were: impressions of the coordinator's class visits, daily in two classes; encouragement of the students--means and techniques to induce them to speak Hebrew; evaluation of the curriculum; how to make the best use of the textbook, Adam ba-moledet; program for Hamuka celebration; and a detailed course of study for a day--a "demonstration day."

Dr. Kamrat presented a breakdown of the weekly course of study for



the various classes. In the Aleph classes, he said, six hours were devoted to speaking exercises, including sihot, a living newspaper, drill, and spontaneous and prepared talks by the students. Six hours were devoted to practice in writing, correction of mistakes, and phonetic exercises. The final six hours were given over to reading and singing. The text, Adam ba-moledet, Part I, was used, as well as a special publication of a non-vowelled newspaper.

In the Bet<sub>aleph</sub> class, there were eight hours of conversation, including talks by students and a living newspaper; five hours of grammar, integrated with reading and writing material; five hours of reading and writing, using the text, Adam ba-moledet, Part II, newspapers and other publications; and four hours of Tanakh—the book Bereshit.

In the Bet<sub>bet</sub> class, there were six hours of reading, reviewing Adam ba-moledet; five hours of grammar; four hours of reading in a non-vowelled newspaper; three hours of Tanakh—the Book of Joshua; and four hours of conversation, reading and dictation.

The Gimel class spent six hours a week in grammar review; six hours of writing; six hours of reading, daily newspapers and free reading; and four hours of Tanakh—the Book of Samuel.

Dr. Kamrat felt that the progress of the students in learning the language was generally satisfactory. However, since one-third of the 4½-month period of study was to be devoted to professional retraining, he thought that not sufficient time remained for acquiring adequate skills in speech.

He found that it was more difficult to teach people who were over



age fifty, but, on the other hand, that older people have more dedication to learning. Moreover, the students' concern for job placement affected their ability to learn. In view of this, plans were made with the Mador le-tipul ba-oleh of the Jewish Agency, as early as the beginning of the first term, to have its representatives interview prospective applicants for job placement. As a result of this move, Dr. Kamrat noticed considerable relaxation on the part of the students.

The cultural activities program was arranged in cooperation with the Department of Culture of the Labor Executive Council in Jerusalem. The lecturers included Dr. Haim Bar-Dayana, Mr. Nahum Levin, Mr. Bar-Meir and Mr. H. Ish-shalom. Trips were scheduled to the Archeological Museum in Jerusalem, to Har Zion, Har Herzl, the Bezalel Museum, the Jerusalem Corridor and Ramat Rachel. Special movies were shown on the establishment of the State, and musical concerts were held.

Dr. Kamrat concluded that, as a result of the daily classes and the continuous contact between students and teachers, the overall purpose of the Ulpan had taken on a more definite form. This purpose embraced the bringing of the intellectual immigrants closer to the land, the State and its institutions; their absorption of Israeli culture and spirit; their acquisition and improvement of the oral language and the written form; and the training and preparation of the students toward their job opportunities, to a suitable placement in accordance with their professional experience.

In the pursuit of these goals, he said, the teacher's task was a difficult one. Here was a group of student-intellectuals in their middle age, who had suffered bitter experiences in the golah and who



were disillusioned with all of humanity. This group was inclined to be critical and skeptical because of their lack of security and their welled-up inner tensions. They had to be rehabilitated in spirit as well as in occupation. The devotion and understanding of the teachers gave the students security and confidence. Dr. Kamrat asserted that every obstacle could be removed with greater ease when such a human relationship existed between teacher and student. He said:

We can observe the relationships in the corridors, in the classrooms, in the dining room, in the social hall and in the dormitory. When you hear song come forth from the mouths of elderly people...when you no longer hear strong biting remarks spoken by the students in their mother tongue...you can obtain the pulse of the Ulpan, which is becoming identified with the pulse of the Yishuv...Every incident, be it political, organizational, economic or international, evokes strong reactions. This is a potent factor, if not a decisive one, in the accomplishment of our purpose, which is a spirit of friendliness and love. (27)

The Mador le-tipul ba-oleh, a separate division in the Department of Absorption, was especially in finding employment for the ulpan students when they completed their course. The Employment Office in the Department of Labor was constantly kept informed of candidates for jobs by the Mador. The Employment Office would send its representatives to interview candidates, to lay out a course of training for them and to make contact with employers for placement purposes.<sup>28</sup> This office was also involved in assigning persons to teach in the Ulpan courses in professional retraining, such as bookkeeping, typing, lettering and so on. On December 17, 1949, the Mador wrote a letter to the Employment Office in which it told of the purposes and goals of Ulpan Etzion and suggested that there would soon be a large number



of bookkeepers and office clerks available for employment. The letter requested that a meeting be arranged with representatives of the Histadrut labor exchange and Dr. Kamrat for the purpose of fixing the steps of professional retraining of the Ulpan students and apprising them of employment prospects at the termination of their course.<sup>29</sup>

On December 18, 1949, the Mador wrote to Dr. A. Elkanah, Supervisor of High Schools of the Ministry of Education and Culture, asking his cooperation in placing teachers of English in the high school system. The letter stated that Dr. Kamrat would contact Dr. Elkanah in order to transmit the students' records, to establish a procedure for their training until the end of the term, and to ascertain whether there were any actual openings for their placement.<sup>30</sup>

On January 10, 1950, Dr. Kamrat submitted a detailed memorandum in which he presented a report of the first semester's operation and his suggestions for the next mahzor (semester) of the Ulpan. He called attention to the difficulties encountered in classifying the students, because of their wide age range, the differences of their cultural backgrounds, and the varying degrees of knowledge of Hebrew and Judaica which they brought with them to the Ulpan. Although the Ulpan was designed to serve students with an intellectual background or a professional status, and whose cultural levels were high, in actuality, Dr. Kamrat said, there came people who deviated more or less from these standards. Sharp differences in the cultural levels of the students created difficulties in class. Some of the students were not well-adjusted socially and tried to disturb the harmony of the class. Dr. Kamrat also noted the absence of good books to use in



teaching the Hebrew language to adults.<sup>31</sup>

Despite all these shortcomings, the students were rapidly becoming integrated into wholesome groupings from the point of view of closely-knit educational-social classes. Teachers and pupils both worked beyond "the call of duty." Their achievements surprised every observer, even the critics. The total illiteracy disappeared in the first few weeks. The cultural activities injected pleasure and relaxation into the program. A unified national spirit began to emerge.

Dr. Kamrat concluded his memorandum with a set of proposals for the coming semester. These dealt with selection and grading of students, length of semester, size of classes and teaching staff, course of study, faculty meetings, cultural program and administrative procedures.<sup>32</sup>

1. Selection of students.

- a. Immigrants above the age of fifty, who have no knowledge of Hebrew, are not to be accepted. Exceptions shall be determined on an individual basis.
- b. There shall be no age limit for students eligible for the intermediate or advanced classes. Caution should be exercised with persons above 63-65.
- c. Every applicant shall have a minimum of a high school education. (This standard was recognized as a valid one when the Ulpan was created--that it be for the professional and intellectual immigrant.)
- d. Priority shall be extended to veteran Zionists, community leaders and eminent personages. The word priority does not imply exclusive rights. (For, a number of former assimilationists have turned Zionists and Israelis in the Ulpan.)
- e. Every applicant shall first undergo a thorough physical examination, and those requiring protracted medical care shall not be accepted.
- f. Applicants who are known from camp records to be anti-social shall not be accepted.
- g. The committee of admission shall be represented by a person who has status in adult education.

2. The Period of the Mahzor.

- a. The length of the mahzor shall be six months (instead of 4½ months as in the first semester) to strengthen the achievements of the professional training and preparation



opportunities to continue their specialized training and were assured of positions at the conclusion of their training period. Four of the latter were admitted into the Bet Midrash Le-Morei Am (See Chapter V.) as potential teachers of adults. The report issued by the Mador le-tipul ba-oleh gives the breakdown on job placements: 1 elementary school teacher; 1 kindergarten teacher; 5 office workers; 2 social workers; 1 actor (in Habima); 1 printer; 1 physician; 1 office manager in Youth Aliyah; 4 to enter course for social workers; 5 to enter course for house mothers; 4 to enter Bet Midrash Le-Morei Am; 4 self-placements. The report also gave the prospects for additional placements, stating that the negotiations would be consummated within the following week for 23 students: 2 pharmacists, 1 inspector in welfare office; 2 in ballet and rhythm studio; 1 radio worker; 1 chemistry teacher; 1 attorney in a government office; 1 in government revenue office; 1 statistician; 1 woman announcer; 12 bookkeepers and accountants. The report added that the Labor Employment Office in Jerusalem had several openings for teachers.<sup>33</sup>

The cost of financing Ulpan Etzion was shared by the Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency and the Department of Language Teaching of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Added to these two subsidies was the tuition income.<sup>34</sup> The Jewish Agency was responsible for the maintenance of the facilities, for food, for the salary of the administrative director of the Ulpan and for the wages of the maintenance staff. The Department of Language Teaching paid the educational budget, which included the salaries of the teachers,



principal and supervisor, as well as the cost of teachers' supplies and teaching aids.

The physical facilities at Ulpan Etzion were the worst that the writer found in any of the ulpanim. Miss Frances Gunther, writing in the Jerusalem Post on April 6, 1950, reported that the hundred and twenty internists were living four in a room which was furnished with four cots and a few clothes hooks. There were no chairs, no tables, no dressers. There was no central heating, and oil stoves only in the classrooms.<sup>35</sup> Ten years later, in 1960, few improvements had been made. Most of the classrooms are very small and equipped only with child-sized desks or benches for the students. Blackboard space is extremely limited. The buildings are particularly uncomfortable during the winter months. The students complained about the cold and the cramped quarters. The internists complained about the food and the dormitory facilities. It seemed, however, that the motivation for learning was not dampened by these outward physical features of the Ulpan.

The success recorded by Ulpan Etzion has been due in large measure to the competence and energy of Dr. Mordecai Kamrat, Principal of the Ulpan, and to his staff of devoted teachers. Together they pioneered in the field of teaching a second language to adults. They met frequently to evaluate their work and to incorporate new methods in the light of their experiences. Inflexibility of approach was frowned upon. Testing and experimentation were actively engaged in. Dr. Kamrat's reports reveal a keen insight into the problems he encountered. The writer feels that Dr. Kamrat exercised a great influence, not only upon Ulpan Etzion, but upon the other ulpanim established in Israel as well.<sup>36</sup>



Chapter V.

BET MIDRASH LE-MOREI AM

With the establishment of the State of Israel and the urgent need to absorb the rapidly growing population, the Hebrew University took the initiative in organizing the Merkaz le-haskalat ha-am, the Centre for Popular Education. The Centre was an outgrowth of the University's Committee on Adult Education, which had planned and supervised the University's extension program up to 1948. Its aim was to coordinate and develop all existing adult education activities in the country. Its executive committee consisted of representatives from the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency, and the Hebrew University. Professor Abraham H. Fraenkel was appointed Chairman of the committee.

One of the first acts of the Centre was the establishment of a seminary for adult education teachers, the Bet Midrash Le-Morei Am. The initiator of the seminary idea was Professor Martin Buber, who became its first dean. Professor Buber had long been interested in the education of the masses in the Yishuv. As early as 1925, when he had been asked by the Zionist Organization to submit a plan and program for the founding of the Hebrew University, Professor Buber had written about the great need for establishing an institution for popular education in the land. Specifically, he had recommended the opening of a seminary for teachers of the people under the auspices of the University, and also the organization of a corps of travelling University instructors to go out to the kvutzot and moshavim.<sup>37</sup>



Later, during the years of the Vaad Leumi's Department of Culture, he had taken an active part in the National Symposium on the Education of Adults (see Part II, Chapter XII, p. 115).

Professor Buber wrote two articles in which he expounded his philosophy of education for the returning masses. In order to understand more fully the operation of the Bet Midrash, the writer feels it is necessary to present a brief resume of Buber's thoughts on this subject.<sup>38</sup>

Professor Buber felt that there could be no future for the State of Israel as Israel in its fullest meaning, without a return to the ancient and eternal values of the Jewish people. Only the education of the mass wave of immigration, he said, would make it possible to effect such a return. In the process of this education of the masses, Professor Buber believed it was necessary to teach the Hebrew language, scriptures, Jewish history, and even the geography of the land, not merely as subject matter to be learned, but as "treasures" of a national culture and heritage based on the principles of justice and peace and a promise to humanity. Furthermore, he wanted teachers who were especially attuned to these conceptions, for he felt that a person who does not believe in the tradition cannot teach it to others. He saw the need for carefully trained teachers who would look upon their jobs not as a hobby or vocation, but as a calling of primary importance. He urged the State, the nation and the national institutions to make the teaching of adults a highly respected occupation.

The situation in Israel was unlike that in the United States, Professor Buber said, in that Israel could not afford to wait for



several generations until the immigrants were cast into a melting pot. He felt that there was no alternative for Israel but to become transformed in a short period into a unified and integrated nation. He therefore stressed the urgency of the need for mass education.

As for the Bet Midrash, Professor Buber stated that its basic aim was not to turn out teachers of great knowledge, but rather men and women of a Jewish spiritual character, who would have a deep understanding of the revival of the Jewish people in its homeland, and who would be closely bound to the land, its culture and society. He pointed out that the teachers must be able and willing to go out to the people and bring to the adults wherever they may be -- in town and country, in immigrant labor and training camps -- the kind of Jewish and general education that would be necessary to mould the individuals who were to become responsible for the upbuilding of the land. He stressed that the groups of students in the Bet Midrash be kept small, so that the teachers could be in a position to get to know the students individually and establish contact with every one of them. "Contact," said Buber, "is the root and basis of education."<sup>39</sup>

Professor Buber's philosophy of education dealt with what he called the "dialogue principle." This principle involved a relationship of reciprocity between the teacher and the student, in which both were considered to be on the same intellectual plane, with each asking questions of the other and each answering from the background of his own personal experiences.

In the main, Professor Buber's philosophical conception of the Bet Midrash found expression in the school's curriculum and method



of instruction during the four years of its existence. Criticism of this approach came from several quarters, as we shall see later.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE BET MIDRASH LE-MOREI AM

In June, 1949, two meetings were held in Jerusalem to discuss the formation of the Bet Midrash. A steering committee was appointed, consisting of Professors Martin Buber, Simha Assaf, Abraham Fraenkel, and Sir Leon Simon and Dr. S. Briman, secretary.<sup>40</sup> The question arose as to the relationship of the seminary to the University. Professor Buber felt that, because of its unique purpose and scope, the Bet Midrash should be an adjunct to the University and not be required to conform to the rigid academic standards of the University. Professor Assaf advocated that the school be part and parcel of the University. Professor Buber's view prevailed.

Three different kinds of programs were to be offered. They were:<sup>41</sup>  
1. A semester of five months' duration for persons desirous of specializing as teachers of adults. There were to be two such semesters held during the year, covering different curricula. It was intended that the students should be enrolled for both semesters. However, during the first five-month period, distinguished students could take special examinations qualifying them to enter teaching before completing the entire curriculum, if the demand for qualified teachers was critical.

2. A special two-month period of study for persons already engaged in cultural activity among adults. Such candidates could be chosen from cultural workers in kibbutzim, kvutzot, or other agricultural settlements; from army education officers; and from young elementary



school teachers. The courses offered would be geared to content education which, together with their practical experience, would qualify the students to assume responsible tasks in their fields of endeavor.

3. A special study period of two to four weeks for a selected group of young people from among the new immigrants. The advanced students of the Bet Midrash would be asked to help in the orientation of these students.

Admission to the seminary was to be decided by a special entrance committee including the Dean, Professor Buber; Dr. David Marani, representing the Jewish Agency; and Mr. Nahum Levin, representing the Department of Culture of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Dr. Gideon Freudenberg, who later became the administrative secretary for the seminary, was also a member of this committee.

To qualify as a student in the seminary, one had to have proof of graduation from high school. Persons were also admitted without such credentials, but had to demonstrate at an interview that they had a special aptitude for adult teaching. At one of his many interviews with Dr. Freudenberg and Dr. Marani, the writer learned that a number of students initially admitted to the school did not possess the necessary qualifications as stipulated, but were nevertheless admitted by Professor Buber because of his personal evaluation of the student and his insistence that a "fine, genuine personality will produce a good teacher-educator." The practical knowledge of Hebrew, or the student's suitability to teach the language was not one of the deciding factors in his selection. This policy dominated the eventual course of



studies of the Bible and Midrash and, according to Dr. Marani, it offered limited opportunities for practical language-teaching courses.

Each five-month semester was to be open to approximately forty students. If the necessity arose, two parallel courses would be arranged. Upon the completion of each semester, examinations were to be held and two kinds of certificates would be issued, depending on the length of study by the student.

The curriculum was to include a course in the knowledge of Israel, which would be given in two sections: a) a study of the Jewish people and Judaism at the present time; and b) a study of Eretz Yisrael, its historical, anthropographical and political backgrounds. In the general sciences, selected studies in physics, cosmology and biology were to be offered, not so much with the view to imparting knowledge as to clarify the foundations of science, the trends of thought in the natural sciences, and the basic hypotheses as well as the mutual relationships between thought and experiment. Other subjects to be given were: readings and explanation of Hebrew texts from both classical literature and general literature in translation; art, music, arts and crafts, and community singing, plus the techniques of teaching these subjects.

The major subjects were to be taught twenty to thirty hours per week. The method of teaching was to be a brief lecture followed by active participation by the students. The students were to meet daily after school hours in order to review, under competent guidance, their work during the day. Once-a-week meetings were to be held for free debate on subjects to be proposed by the students themselves, from the



material they studied or from life generally. Such meetings would serve the purpose not only of clarifying problems and conceptions, but also of training in the method of conducting debates on various topics.

The teaching staff of the Bet Midrash was to be composed of permanent and temporary teachers who would be recruited from the Hebrew University faculty and other sources. The choice of curriculum and faculty appointments would be the responsibility of the University. Administration of the Bet Midrash would be by the Executive Council of the Centre for Popular Education, on which served representatives of the Hebrew University, the Jewish Agency, the Ministry of Education and Culture and other government agencies. The administrative staff was to consist of a dean, an educational-organizer who would have administrative-secretarial duties, a dormitory housekeeper-manager, and maintenance workers.

The tentative annual budget was to be 15,000 lirot. Scholarships would be made available to needy students, who would be referred by central organizations and local authorities and whose tuition costs they would bear.<sup>42</sup>

#### THE FIRST YEAR OF THE BET MIDRASH LE-MOREI AM

At a special meeting of the Executive Council of the Centre for Popular Education, the opening date of the Bet Midrash was set for December 4, 1949.<sup>43</sup> The course would extend over a period of ten months to end on October 4, 1950. In attendance at this meeting were Professor Simha Assaf, chairman; Selig Brodetzky, President of the Hebrew University; Martin Duber, Berl Locker, Zalman Shazar, S. Bri-man and A. Neuman. Professor Fraenkel and Sir Leon Simon were absent.



Dr. Gideon Freudenberg was appointed Administrative Secretary of the Bet Midrash for the 1949-1950 academic year. An annual budget of 14,500 lirot, with a 500 lirot reserve fund, was recommended. The tuition income was estimated at 2000 lirot. Tuition for the ten-month course was set at 60 lirot per student. This amount could be paid in three installments. Dormitory facilities were to be provided at the rate of 950 prutot per day. A number of stipends and tuition scholarships were to be made available to qualifying students.

The council decided on a 25-hour per week study period. This would not include evening lectures, star-gazing, exhibits, and so forth; nor would it include Saturday "listening hours" to lectures, music and group reading. Trips and outings were to be scheduled periodically under the supervision of a trained guide.

A circular-letter was authorized for distribution, giving information about the seminary--its purpose, admission requirements, tuition, dormitory privileges, scholarships, examinations, certification and directions for submitting applications.<sup>44</sup>

Dr. Freudenberg submitted a detailed budget request to the Ministry of Education and Culture and to the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency, listing the anticipated income and expenditures for the 1949/1950 school year of the seminary.

TABLE XI. BET MIDRASH LE-MORET AM, 1949-1950 SCHOOL YEAR.<sup>45</sup>

EXPENDITURES:

Lecturers' and guides' fees	5,000 lirot
Salary (partial) of Dean	720
Salary of Administrative Secretary	1,000
Salaries of housekeeper, secretary, maintenance workers and librarian	2,000
Rent, furniture, cleaning, etc.	2,500



TABLE XI. (continued)

Books, supplies	2,000 lirot
Typing, duplicating, translations, and editing of texts	1,200
Paper supplies, postage, telephone	300
Meetings and professional trips	180
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15,000 lirot*</b>
<b>INCOME:</b>	
Government of Israel	5,000 lirot
Jewish Agency	5,000
Hebrew University (secretarial, library and housekeeping services)	2,000
Tuition	3,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15,000 lirot</b>

\* (This column actually adds up to 14,900 lirot.)

TABLE XII. CURRICULUM, FACULTY AND HOURS OF INSTRUCTION IN THE  
FIRST YEAR OF THE BET MIDRASH LE-MOREI AM, 1949-1950. 46

<u>CURRICULUM</u>	<u>HOURS PER WEEK</u>	<u>FACULTY</u>
A. Humanities	16	
1. Basic Concepts of Society		Prof. Martin Buber
2. Political Science		Prof. Benj. Aksin
		Prof. Roth
3. Introduction to the Science of Economics		Prof. Don Patinkin
		Prof. Bunah
4. Legal Institutions and Relations		Dr. Zamora
5. International Law		Prof. Nathan Feinberg
6. Introduction to Literature		Dr. L. Strauss
7. Studies of Historical Introspection		Prof. Ernst Simon
8. Wars of Independence of Nations in the Nineteenth Century		Dr. Veisinger
9. Fundamentals of Education		Prof. Ernst Simon
10. Fundamentals in the Teaching of the Hebrew Language to Adults		Prof. Eliezer Rieger and others
11. Between the Material and Spiritual Worlds		Prof. Hugo Shmuel Bergman and others

(continued next page)



TABLE XII. (continued)

<u>CURRICULUM</u>	<u>HOURS PER WEEK</u>	<u>FACULTY</u>
B. Judaica	8	
12. The Scriptures		Prof. Buber
13. Mishnah		Mr. Alon
14. Didactics of the Tanakh		Mr. Anoh
15. Hebrew Literature		Dr. Nehama Leibowitz
16. History of Zionist Thought		Prof. Simon Halkin
17. Knowledge of the Land and the People		Dr. Nathan Rotenstreich
18. The Jewish Settlement in Eretz Yisrael		Prof. Bension Dinur and others
19. The Arab World and its Meaning		Mr. Sh. Zonah
		Prof. Shelomo Goitein
C. Sciences	6	
20. History of Physics and Cosmology Concepts		Prof. Soversky
21. Biology of Man		Dr. Yeshaia Leibowitz
22. Introduction to Astronomy		Dr. Zondeik
23. Flora, Fauna and Crops in Our Land		Dr. Ibn Aryeh
D. Art (Extra-curricular)		
24. Music Appreciation and Community Singing		Dr. Sh. Hoffman
25. Introduction to Painting and Sculpture		Dr. Gideon Freudenberg

The University rented Pension Friedman in Jerusalem for classroom use, dormitory and dining-room facilities.

On December 18, 1949, two weeks after the opening, Dr. Freudenberg submitted a progress report to the Executive Council of the Bet Midrash. He stated that forty-two students were registered, with the prospect of five additional students to be admitted within a week. Of the forty-two students, eighteen were women. Among the students were twelve new immigrants--nine women and three men. Three of these were from Bulgaria, two from Hungary, and one each from the following countries:



Tunisia, Morocco, Argentina, Poland, France, England and the United States. The students included five teachers and youth leaders; twelve graduates of local high schools; seven from kibbutzim and six from oriental communities. The age distribution of the students was as follows: 8 students were between 18 and 25 years of age; 16 were between 25 and 30; 9 were between 30 and 35; 8 were between 35 and 40; and 1 student was over 40 years of age.

Twenty-two students lived in the dormitory and paid five lirot monthly. Ten of these students received subsidies from the Ministry of Education and Culture in the amount of 1200 lirot. Thirty students took their meals (breakfast and dinner) at the seminary. They paid 183 lirot monthly. The proprietor of the Pension shared the expenses of water and electricity with the Bet Midrash.<sup>47</sup>

On December 22, 1949, Dr. Freudenberg reported to Professor Buber that the student enrollment had reached fifty, and that there was no more room for additional students for the current academic year.<sup>48</sup> He added that Dr. Eliezer Rieger would supplement his lectures on the Teaching of Hebrew to Adults with observation sessions of actual classroom teaching at the Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem. Dr. Mordecai Kamrat and Miss Nehama Leibowitz were to join Dr. Rieger in teaching the course, and in the follow-up sessions of observation. The number of hours for the course would be six weekly, excluding the observation sessions.

On January 22, 1950, special provision was made to admit four released soldiers from Tzahal (the Israeli Army) to the course. The government made available a special scholarship of 300 lirot annually



for the enrollment of ex-servicemen in the Bet Midrash.<sup>49</sup>

In an article in the Davar on January 6, 1950, Mr. A. J. Braver of the Ministry of Education and Culture charged that not enough time was being devoted to the teaching of the Hebrew language in the course of study of the Bet Midrash. He said that the current allotment of not quite 20% of the total teaching time to the course in How to Teach the Language was insufficient to prepare the students adequately to teach adults the fundamentals of the Hebrew language. Dr. Freudenberg replied to this charge by stating that as the program progressed more time would be given to the theoretical and practical aspects of classroom teaching. Specifically, the monthly time allotment for the course mentioned above was to be as follows: January--26 hours of the total 178 hours of instruction; February--29 hours of the total 155 hours; March--39 of the total 171 hours; April--34 of the total 120 hours; June--52 of the total 166 hours; and July--51 of the total 162 hours of instruction. Dr. Freudenberg added that Mr. Yitzhak Livni would share this course in pedagogy with Dr. Mordecai Kamrat, and that for three hours each week the Bet Midrash students would attend practice-teaching sessions at Ulpan Etzion.<sup>50</sup>

On Thursday, November 26, 1950, thirty-seven students were awarded their diplomas from the Bet Midrash Le-Morei Am at a special graduation celebration held in the Jewish Agency building in Jerusalem. Speakers at the graduation included Professor Selig Brodetsky, President of the Hebrew University, Mr. Zalman Shazar, Minister of Education and Culture, and Professor Martin Buber, Dean of the Bet Midrash. They expressed their satisfaction with the success of the Bet Midrash in its first



year, and their hope that the graduates would strengthen the existing programs of Hebrew language and culture education for adult immigrants. Mr. Yehiel Hecht, one of the graduates and himself a new immigrant who entered Israel in the Aliya Bet via Cyprus, represented his fellow students at the graduation exercises. His remarks were personal and reflected an inner-satisfaction with the experiences he received at the Bet Midrash. He said: <sup>51</sup>

...Every lecture and session was for us not merely an opportunity to enrich our knowledge, but an experience which stimulated our thinking and broadened our educational horizons...We hope we can measure up to what is expected of us...

After the commencement, it was announced that as part of the 1950-1951 school year, the complete curriculum would be given for a period of six weeks in Bet Lid, where a huge immigrant camp was located. There the students would have an opportunity to come in contact with the new immigrants. They would continue with the regular courses and would do practice-teaching under the supervision of the faculty language instructors. In addition, short courses would be offered to volunteer teachers or qualified non-teachers, so that the supply of instructors would be increased, thus making it possible to open many more classes for new immigrants. <sup>52</sup>

#### THE SECOND YEAR OF THE BET MIDRASH

The second year of the Bet Midrash Le-Morei Am began on December 8, 1950, in Pension Friedman. The initial enrollment was thirty-nine, of whom thirty-one were new immigrants. <sup>53</sup>

A catalogue listing the courses given and reviewing the aims of the seminary was published by the Centre for Popular Education of the



Hebrew University and the Ministry of Education and Culture of the State of Israel.<sup>54</sup> The curriculum was subdivided into three main areas of instruction: 1) Judaica; 2) pedagogy; and 3) general knowledge.

TABLE XIII. CURRICULUM, FACULTY AND TOTAL HOURS OF INSTRUCTION IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE BET MIDRASH LE-MOREI AM, 1950-51.

<u>CURRICULUM</u>	<u>FACULTY</u>	<u>TOTAL HOURS</u>
<b>A. Judaica</b>		
1. The Bible	Buber, Leibowitz, Oppenheimer	250
2. Mishnah, Agadah	Dr. Y. Katz	50
3. Hebrew	Yitzhak Livni	250
4. History of Jewish People in Biblical Period	Yehuda Elizur	80
5. History of Jewish People in Second Temple Period	H. A. ben-Shashon	80
6. History of Jewish People in Modern Period	H. A. ben-Shashon	80
7. Jewish Philosophy	Dr. Y. Leibowitz	30
8. Kabbalah	Prof. G. Shalom	30
9. Modern Hebrew Literature	Prof. Sh. Halkin	50
TOTAL		900 hours
<b>B. Pedagogics</b>		
10. History and Principles of Education	Prof. A. Simon	50
11. Methods of Teaching Hebrew to Adults	Dr. M. Kamrat	70
12. Methods of Teaching Tanakh	Dr. Nehama Leibowitz	20
13. Teaching Singing--Group and Choral	Dr. Sh. Hoffman	30
14. Observation at Ulpan Classes	Dr. M. Kamrat	30
TOTAL		200
<b>C. General Knowledge</b>		
15. Philosophy	Prof. S. H. Bergman	50
16. World History	Dr. M. Weisinger	40
17. History of Arab Nations	Prof. S. D. Goitein	30
18. History of Political Thought and Problems	Dr. N. Rotenstreich	50
19. Science of Nature Phenomena	Dr. Y. Leibowitz	40

(continued)



TABLE XIII. (continued)

20. Musicology related to Singing and Music Appreciation	Dr. Sh. Hoffman	30
21. Fine Arts--Painting and Sculpture	Dr. G. Freudenberg	30
TOTAL		270

D. Practice Teaching

At immigrant camp classes. Supervised by Dr. N. Leibowitz, Mr. Y. Livni and Dr. G. Freudenberg. Six days per week, for one month.

The total hours of instruction for the academic year was 1370. Of these, 450 hours, or 32.8%, were devoted to the teaching of Hebrew and the pedagogics related to the teaching process. Adding the hours of supervised teaching in the immigrant camps, estimated at 100 hours for the month, it was felt that the program offered adequate teacher-education to the students of the Bet Midrash.

The number of instruction hours per week was increased to thirty-two. Classes were held in the morning and afternoon hours. Students were assigned substantial home preparation for their classes. They were encouraged to work in pairs or groups, either at the seminary rooms or on the outside. An extensive library of reference and circulating texts was provided. Students could also use the National Library at the Terra Sancta College and the University Library.

The method of teaching remained the same. Only a portion of the lessons was conducted by the University lecture method. In most instances, Professor Buber's "dialogue" approach was used, with active participation by the students in the form of questions and answers.

The requirements for admission were the same as for the first year



in most cases, that is, high school graduation or its equivalent. The only variation was in admitting new immigrant applicants, even if their academic background was wanting. Graduates of the Ulpan course were especially encouraged to enroll, and special preparatory classes were organized for them.

The tuition for the academic year 1950/51 was sixty lirot. The fee could be paid in three installments. Loans were made available to qualifying applicants, to be repayed after the term was concluded and the graduate obtained a job, and then in long-term payments. These inducements attracted a high caliber of student, who might have resented receiving a stipend or scholarship but who would prefer to be independent and pay off a loan.

Every student was to be prepared to devote his full time to study during his year's stay in Jerusalem. He was to have enough funds for his personal maintenance. The administration discouraged the students from obtaining work after school hours, since the student's maximum waking hours would be absorbed in study and lesson preparation.

Students who could not find lodging in Jerusalem would be able to rent rooms in the seminary's dormitory. The number of such rooms was limited and they were therefore on a "first-come, first-served" basis. Room and board in the dormitory cost approximately 17 lirot per month. For those students it could not accomodate, the Seminary had a listing of rooms with private families.

Entrance examinations were given to every student. A self-evaluation was required to indicate whether the candidate felt confident to face a classroom of adults in presenting his lesson. The examinations



were oral. The interviewing committee felt that not only should the student's academic background be evaluated, but also his personality and his general outlook.

Final examinations were to be given at the end of the academic year. The examinations were of two types, and a student had to pass both before receiving his or her certificate of accreditation. The examinations were: 1) an academic one on the subjects taught in formal classes; and 2) practice teaching performance, evaluated at the end of the field work period. Both were given in writing. In the case of questionable results, orals were given.

A certificate of graduation was issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture. It read:

(Student's Name) has satisfactorily met the academic and practical teaching requirements, and is thus granted a diploma of a qualified teacher of adults (moreh mismakh li-nebugarim).

The graduates were given the right to apply for teaching positions at the Ulpanim, or at any school in the system of education of the State of Israel.

#### JOINT OPERATION OF THE BET MIDRASH LE-MOREI AM.

On March 3, 1951, a special meeting was called to discuss the matter of sponsorship of the Seminary.<sup>55</sup> The Ministry of Education and Culture and the Centre for Popular Education of the Hebrew University became jointly responsible for the operation of the Bet Midrash. The Jewish Agency would be asked to set up a fund for scholarships and stipends, but it would no longer be represented on the Board of Directors. Present at this meeting were Mr. Avreh, Dr. Briman and Dr. Freudenberg.



The opinion was expressed that it was desirable and possible to expand the scope of the Bet Midrash provided adequate funds were made available. Mr. Avreh stated that for the 1952 academic year the Ministry of Education and Culture would allocate 12,000 lirot, and would increase its grant for student stipends to 4,000 lirot if the Seminary could enroll at least seventy-five students that year. Dr. Briman expressed the hope that other public-minded institutions would come forth with financial help. He named the Jewish Agency as the first on the list of cooperating organizations to set up a large fund for scholarships.

Mr. Avreh added that the Ministry was appropriating the necessary funds to publish science textbooks, texts in the humanities and in Israeli geography and sociology. These texts were to be vowelled and could be used in the Bet Midrash as well as in the intensive Ulpanim.

The committee authorized the rental of Bet Friedman until September, 1953, as well as two additional rooms in a nearby home.

Dr. Freudenberg was asked to prepare a formal plan for an expanded Bet Midrash.

#### THE THIRD YEAR OF THE BET MIDRASH

The third year of the Bet Midrash le-Morei Am opened on November 11, 1951. Fifty-six students were enrolled, of whom twenty-one were new immigrants, and twenty-nine were graduates of intensive Ulpanim. The academic year closed on October 3, 1952. The curriculum, the policy of admissions and tuition payments, examinations and certification all remained the same as in the previous year.<sup>56</sup>

On July 10, 1952, a budget report was submitted to the Executive



Committee of the Bet Midrash, and approved for the coming academic year.

TABLE XIV. BUDGET OF THE BET MIDRASH LE-MOREI AM FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1952-1953. (57)

EXPENDITURES:

1. Administration (salaries)	4,500 Lirot
2. Lecturers, teachers, supervisors	5,500
3. Rent, maintenance, etc.	4,500
4. Supplies, teaching aids, library	1,500
5. Publicity, advertisements, miscellaneous	500

TOTAL 16,500 Lirot

INCOME:

1. Ministry of Education and Culture	16,500 Lirot
2. Tuition	500

TOTAL 16,500 Lirot

The budget report included the statement that 4,000 Lirot were needed to supply the stipends and loans. This amount was distributed to twenty needy students who had no means of maintaining themselves for room and board in the dormitory.

The cost of managing the dormitory rooms and the dining room was given as 6,056.651 Lirot for the period from November 1, 1951 through August 31, 1952. It was broken down as follows:

3 meals per day for 40 students	3,826.052 Lirot
Sleeping quarters in dormitory and outside	2,116.000
Interest on loan from Bank Leumi	114.599

TOTAL 6,056.651 Lirot

Against this expenditure the Bet Midrash received 6,237 lirot in payments from students and student stipends received from the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Jewish Agency. The report indicated a reserve of 180.349 lirot as a result of the surplus of income over expenditures. Nevertheless, financial problems in maintaining the



Bet Midrash were hinted at. A suggestion was made by Dr. Freudenberg to request a loan of 6,000 lirot from the Jewish Agency to be repaid in three installments of 2,000 lirot each. "Otherwise," Stated Dr. Freudenberg, "we face the danger of having to discontinue our operations."<sup>58</sup>

At the conclusion of the third year of the Bet Midrash, a statistical report was submitted by Dr. Freudenberg to the Executive Committee of the Seminary. This report dealt with the job placement of the graduates.

TABLE XV. DISTRIBUTION OF WORK OPPORTUNITIES TO GRADUATES OF THE BET MIDRASH. (59)

<u>NO. OF GRADUATES</u>	<u>TEACHING ADULT CLASSES</u>	<u>TEACHING PRIMARY CLASSES</u>	<u>SERVING IN ARMY</u>	<u>NOT TEACHING</u>
First Year—41*	23	8	7	3
Second Year—31	18	9	0	4
Third Year—56	22	26	3	5
<u>TOTAL</u> 128	<u>63</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>

(\*An earlier report gave this figure as 37. See page 213.)

A footnote to this analysis stated that of the 43 teachers working in the primary classes, 16 also taught evening adult language classes in the same schools.

#### THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE BET MIDRASH LE-MOREI AM

The fourth year of the Bet Midrash opened on November 4, 1952, with an enrollment of forty-eight students, of whom thirty-two were new immigrants.<sup>60</sup> This proved to be the final year in the operation of the Seminary.

Earlier in the year, proposals had been made to change the structure of the institution, its academic scope and purpose, and its spon-



sorship. On April 25, 1952, a meeting had been held to discuss the new term and the possibility of giving a status of permanence to the Seminary.<sup>61</sup> In attendance at this meeting were Professor Dinur, Dr. Briman and Dr. Freudenberg. They also discussed the matter of closer integration of the Bet Midrash with either the Hebrew University or the Ministry of Education and Culture. Dr. Freudenberg pointed out that financial problems would be encountered, even though the Jewish Agency had agreed to continue with its annual scholarship-stipend grant of 4,000 lirot. He stated that the budget for the year would be 16,000 lirot.

The questionable status of the Bet Midrash brought a notice from the proprietor of Bet Friedman to the effect that the Seminary would have to evacuate the premises by the end of November, 1952.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, classes continued to meet there through the end of the fourth year.

On April 2, 1953, a proposal to include a wider range of teacher-training, youth leadership training, and specialized professional courses in the Bet Midrash curriculum was presented to the Executive Council of the Centre for Popular Education. Professor Abraham Ibn Shushan, serving as Director of the Department of Language Teaching of the Ministry of Education and Culture, participated in the preparation of the proposal. The plan envisaged the following activities and courses: 1) an annual course for teachers and guides for adults; 2) summer sessions for elementary school teachers; 3) specialized sessions for high school teachers; 4) seminars for guides in the history and geography of the homeland; 5) seminars for professional work-



ers of the Histadrut; 6) seminars for workers and foremen in the co-operatives Ha-mashbir and Ha-merkaz; 7) seminars for executive employees of the Histadrut; 8) retreats and recreation sessions for culture workers of the Histadrut; 9) circles of specialized Hebrew language sessions for laborers; and 10) lectures for the wide public.<sup>63</sup>

The School of Education of the Hebrew University, under the direction of Professor Alexander Dushkin, and the Ministry of Education and Culture were the institutions which were considered to take over the operation of the Bet Midrash.

On June 6, 1953, Mr. A. Rappaport, Secretary of the School of Education, addressed a letter to Dr. Briman outlining the decisions reached for the future relationship of the Bet Midrash to the School of Education.<sup>64</sup> These decisions were:

1. To incorporate the Bet Midrash Le-Morei Am into the School of Education as a Department for Adult Teaching.
2. To set up the activities of the Bet Midrash in two divisions:
  - a. Training lessons in education for adults to be given to students preparing for elementary and high schools.
  - b. Courses and seminars for teachers of the people and for cultural supervisors in kibbutzim, moshavot and cities.
3. To establish a working relationship between the Centre for Popular Education and the Department for Adult Language Teaching and, if need be, with other institutions which are engaged in adult education activities. For this purpose, there will be created a Council composed of representatives from the School of Education and the other mentioned agencies. The Council will present its recommendations and decisions to the administrative committee of the School of Education. Professor Martin Buber will serve as head of the Council, in his capacity as Dean of the Department of Adult Education of the Bet Midrash le-Morei Am.
4. To place at the disposal of the Department of Adult Education the dormitory which is about to be vacated in Bet Ha-kerem, near the Youth Hostel. Priority for room rentals will be given to students of the School of Education who are interested in training for adult education.
5. To appoint Dr. Gideon Freudenberg as Administrative Director of the Department of Adult Education. Dr. Freudenberg and his wife will be in charge of the dormitory, which shall be placed in care of this department.



6. To request an amount of 4500 lirot of the Ministry of Education and Culture for the purpose of equipping and arranging matters in the dormitory, as well as financing the activities of the Department of Adult Education. This amount is requested for the period from September, 1953, through March, 1954 (from the annual allocation of 6500 lirot).

On June 28, 1953, Dr. Briman wrote to Professor Dushkin, advising him that, beginning October 1, 1953, the Bet Midrash would be transferred to the School of Education for a trial period of one year.<sup>65</sup>

#### PRACTICE TEACHING

As part of the field work in the Bet Midrash curriculum, the student body travelled to Acre and remained there the entire month of July, 1953, for the purpose of teaching among new immigrants. On July 30, Dr. Freudenberg submitted a progress report on the activities. Forty-four classes were conducted, with an enrollment of 750 students. Thirty-five students of the Bet Midrash served as teachers. Classes were held daily for four hours in the evening. There were also several morning classes.

There were three classes for Arabs who lived in the old section of Acre. At the request of the local police department, five additional classes for new recruits and those already in service were organized.

The students were placed according to their Hebrew knowledge in 18 beginners' classes, 12 intermediate classes, and 14 advanced classes. The subjects taught were basic Hebrew conversation, Hebrew style, literature, and Tanakh. Classes were held in the public schools, which the municipality placed at the service of the Bet Midrash. The Culture House of the city and one synagogue offered the use of their classrooms. The meeting places of the classes were purposely spread through-



out the city in order to ease the transportation of the students. Dr. Freudenberg stated that, from all indications, "the operation was successful, from the point of view of teacher training and student achievement."<sup>66</sup>

The Bet Midrash conducted the commencement exercises of its fourth year graduating class on August 26, 1953, in the auditorium of B et Friedman.<sup>67</sup> Forty-one students received their certificates, of whom twenty-seven were women. Thirty-one of the graduates had been new immigrant students who came from twelve countries: Rumania, 7; Iraq, 5; Syria, five; Iran, 3; Egypt, 2; Morocco, 2; England, 2; Bulgaria, 2; and one each from Austria, Uruguay and South Africa.

Greetings were extended by Professor Alexander Dushkin, who announced that beginning with the next term, the Bet Midrash would be transferred to the School of Education and would operate as a distinct department, to be called the Department for Adult Education.

Mr. Joseph Shaked, Director of the Department of Language Teaching of the Ministry of Education and Culture, extended greetings in the name of his department and welcomed the graduates as prospective teachers in the ulpan system of adult education.

On December 12, 1953, Mr. S. Ravitsky of the Finance Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture wrote to Dr. Moshe Avidor, General Director of the Ministry, indicating an indebtedness of 10,000 lirot to the B et Midrash and an outstanding salary payment due to Dr. Freudenberg. He stated that there were no funds available in the category of "Teacher-training" to pay this debt, and requested advice



as to how to meet the expenses. He added that since the Minister of Education had decided to discontinue the Bet Midrash in its former framework, and to establish it as a separate department in the School of Education, the directorship of the Bet Midrash was eager to terminate its operation "in a dignified manner," that is, by paying the outstanding debts.<sup>68</sup>

Despite all the plans for the reorganization of the Bet Midrash, and its incorporation into the School of Education of the Hebrew University, the Bet Midrash Le-Morei Am ceased to operate beyond its fourth year. In all, it had graduated and certified one hundred and sixty-nine students as teachers of adults.

The reasons for the closing of the Bet Midrash were given to the writer by Professor Ibn Shushan and Dr. Freudenberg.<sup>69</sup> Professor Shushan explained that the School of Education of the Hebrew University was not geared to the training of teachers for adult language classes, and that the Israel Government, through its Ministry of Education and Culture, did not have sufficient funds to allocate to adult teacher-training, since all the monies available for education were expended for compulsory elementary education. Both Professor Shushan and Dr. Freudenberg agreed that possibly the primary reason for the discontinuance of the program was the sloughing-off of mass immigration and, therefore, the diminished need for adult language teachers. Another factor indicated was the reluctance of the Bet Midrash graduates to teach in the small villages and the isolated immigrant settlements. Since a basic objective of such a training center was to have teachers go out "to the people" wherever they may be, the school's effectiveness



in achieving this objective was questionable.

Formal teacher-training courses under the joint sponsorship of the Centre for Popular Education and other government agencies were not resumed until 1957, when a Midrashah was established in Beersheba. A later chapter will deal with this program, as well as with other formal and informal programs of teacher-training.



Chapter VI.

THE SUBDIVISION OF THE CULTURE DEPARTMENT AND THE EARLY YEARS OF THE  
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE TEACHING

From May 14, 1948, until December 1, 1949, all of the language and cultural activities for the new immigrants were organized and administered by the Culture Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture (see Chapter III, p. 176). Mr. Nahum Levin was the director of this overall program.

The influx of large masses of immigrants, and the ever-mounting need to provide for their language and culture education, presented serious problems to the Ministry and to the Culture Department.

Mr. Joseph Shaked, in his report to the Education Studies and Documents Section of UNESCO, described the situation as it existed then.<sup>70</sup>

With the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, and their settlement in camps, the Culture Department took upon itself the task of spiritual integration. The immigrants came in waves, each with their particular ways of life, standards of culture and special requirements. The education and cultural work in one particular camp was no sooner arranged than new camps sprang up. The work was dynamic, feverish, unplanned—with an insufficient budget, inadequate facilities for teaching and instruction, a shortage of teachers both qualified and unqualified, and a deficiency in equipment...

The needs could not be forecast, nor was it possible to provide adequate funds to meet them. Budgets which were presented for a particular period quickly became unrealistic and had to be revised. Three letters to Mr. Levin from Mr. Y. Avrekh, Secretary of the Culture Division of the Ministry, disclose, first, that Mr. Levin did not submit a budget for the period of April-September, 1949, despite repeated requests for a detailed budget; and second, that the Culture



Department was overspending its monthly allotments of 4,166 lirot.<sup>71</sup> This figure represents a yearly allotment of 49,992 lirot, which, when compared to the 295,870 lirot requested in the proposed budget for 1948/49 (see Table IX, p. 160), indicates the desperate financial situation in which the Department found itself at that time.

On November 8, 1949, Mr. Avrekh sent a memorandum to Mr. Levin and Mr. Moshe Raat, advising them that the Culture Department was to be divided into two separate operations, each to be headed by a different director. The new departments were to begin functioning no later than December 1, 1949.<sup>72</sup>

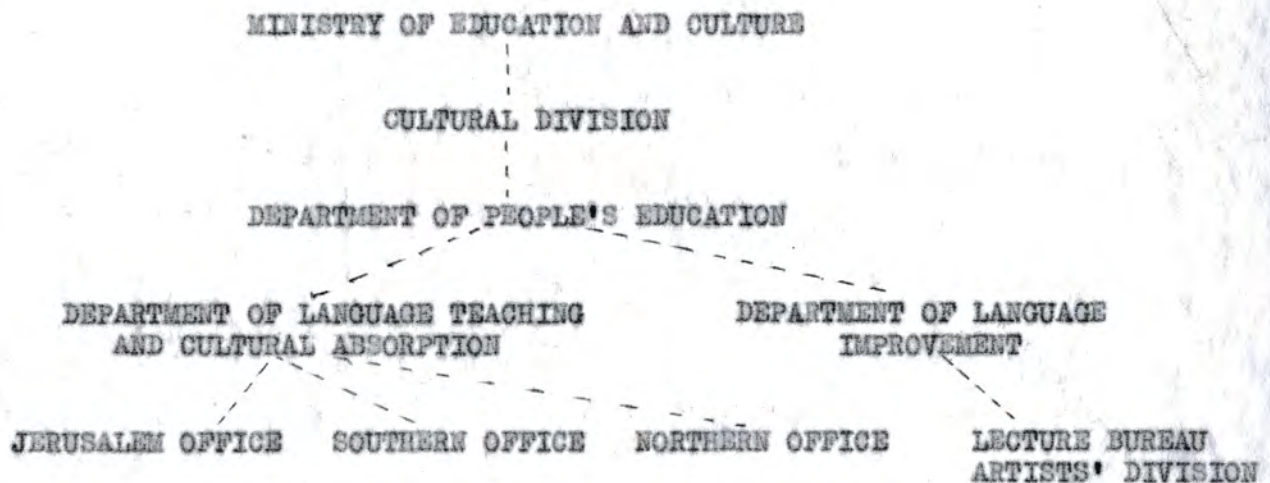
The first department was called the Department for Teaching the Language and for Cultural Absorption of the Aliyah. It was headed by Mr. Levin. This department was charged with the teaching of the Hebrew language in the entire land to adults whose educational background was below the third year of basic education. It was also to engage in all cultural activities in the maabarot and in the immigrant housing projects.

The second department was called the Department for Language Refinement and Improvement. It was headed by Mr. Raat. This department was responsible for providing educational opportunities to new immigrants and residents of the land for language improvement in speaking, reading and writing. The classes organized were for persons whose basic education was above the third year level. In addition, this department was directed to undertake projects designed to stimulate the interest of the public in language and cultural activities, in the arts and in the knowledge of Israel's history and geography. It was to



develop techniques to attract persons to lectures, exhibits, hugim, seminars and institutes, hikes and trips, and so forth. The department was to operate in all cities and villages except the immigrant camps and immigrant housing projects. Mr. Raat was also directed to establish cooperative projects and a working relationship with the Centre for Popular Education of the Hebrew University.

The following chart illustrates the new organizational structure of the Cultural Division of the Ministry of Education and Culture.<sup>73</sup>



The real reason for the division of the Culture Department remains unknown. It is not unreasonable to assume that the overwhelming responsibilities became too great for one department and one director. However, the writer feels that it may also have been an attempt by certain parties and pressure groups to discredit Mr. Levin, who resigned from his office shortly thereafter in 1950.<sup>74</sup> The fact of the matter is that the writer found no records in any of the files relating to the activities of the Department for Language Refinement and Improvement after 1950.



On March 27, 1949, Mr. Levi Eshkol, Treasurer of the Jewish Agency, had advised Mr. Zalman Shazar, Minister of Education and Culture, that beginning in April of 1949 the Jewish Agency would no longer appropriate funds to help finance the cultural work in the immigrant camps.<sup>75</sup> The government absorbed the full educational cost of the program of cultural absorption of the new immigrants. The Jewish agency restricted its subsidies to the housing, maintenance and feeding costs.

After the formation of the Department for Language Teaching, a portion of the operation of the language classes was gradually transferred to local governing authorities--the municipalities, local councils, district councils, and to public organizations such as the Histadrut, principally for the purpose of sharing in the cost of the program. The formula for sharing the costs was based on the economic situation of the local authority in which the classes were conducted. For example, the Tel Aviv municipality was required to contribute a larger proportion of the total cost than were the rural municipalities.

During the 1949/1950 period, the Culture Centre of the Histadrut, together with the organization of district culture centers, established 450 classes throughout the land for teaching the Hebrew language and Israeli citizenship. Approximately 10,000 workers were enrolled. The Orthodox Culture Centre provided Torah education to 4,500 students, and special Talmud Torah language courses were given to 850 students.<sup>76</sup>

The first detailed budget of the Department for Language Teach-



ing was submitted to the Ministry of Education and Culture for the 1950/51 fiscal year:<sup>77</sup>

TABLE XVI. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING, 1950/1951.

Salaries for 32 employees	20,840 Lirot
Organizational expenses	9,780
Adult education classes	132,800
Ulpan classes	40,000
Central Institute for <u>olim</u> on Mt. Canaan	10,000
Holiday and festival celebrations	11,800
Cultural activities in immigrant villages	15,000
Teacher and supervisor training	1,500
Maintenance and furnishing of Culture Centres	4,000
Homeland instruction to <u>olim</u>	3,600
Periodicals for Culture Centres	3,600
Publication of Prozdor, the vowelised weekly	12,400
Rentals for ulpanim	9,000
Office equipment	300
Office furniture	300
Purchase of vehicles	2,500
<hr/>	
TOTAL	277,420 Lirot

A budget was also submitted for this period by the Department for Language Improvement. This was the only budget found by the writer for this department.<sup>78</sup>

TABLE XVII. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE IMPROVEMENT, 1950/1951.

Expenditures	
Maintenance of Bet Midrash LeMorei Am, in cooperation with the Hebrew University	10,000 Lirot
Joint financing of language teaching	32,230
Study Groups	7,900
Seminars for specialization	23,000
Joint sponsorship of lectures, cultural evenings in cities and moshavot	12,000
Program for the inculcation of a Hebrew spirit and climate—organization and supervision	5,000
Subsidies to agencies engaged in cultural activities	12,000
Subsidies for supplies, equipment and reading material to culture centers	6,000
<hr/>	
TOTAL	108,130 Lirot



TABLE XVII. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE IMPROVEMENT, 1950/1951. (continued)

Income	
Financial participation by municipalities and local authorities, and students' fees--40% or	43,252 Lirot
	<hr/>
NET TOTAL	64,878 Lirot

Although the Department for Language Teaching requested a budget of 277,420 Lirot for the 1950/51 fiscal year, in actuality it received only 155,000 Lirot.<sup>79</sup>

On December 21, 1950, Mr. Shmuel Yavnieli, the new director of the Department for Language Teaching and successor to Mr. Nahum Levin, submitted a detailed budget for the overall activities of the Department, amounting to 661,660 Lirot. The largest increase, percentage-wise, was for the intensive ulpanim. The largest item on the budget was for the other types of ulpanim, or adult language classes, amounting to 352,800 lirot.<sup>80</sup>

TABLE XVIII. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING, 1951/1952.

2800 adult language classes	352,800 lirot
120 intensive ulpan classes	140,000
Central Institute on Mt. Canaan <sup>81</sup>	10,000
Socials, festival programs and cultural activities in the immigrant villages	45,000
Teacher and supervisor education	10,000
Maintenance and furnishing of culture centers	10,000
Teaching homeland history to immigrants	10,000
Periodicals for culture centers	5,400
Publicity and publication of <u>Prozdor</u> , a vowelled weekly	15,000
Publication of a daily vowelled newspaper for <u>olim</u>	20,000
Textbooks, teaching aids, supplies, etc.	24,000
Service to culture centers and teaching locations	17,460
Purchase of vehicles	2,000
	<hr/>
GROSS TOTAL	661,660 Lirot



The gross budget included the amounts to be contributed by the local authorities. The first two items on the budget were broken down as follows: 1) the 2 800 adult language classes included 500 classes in immigrant camps meeting 8 hours weekly, 1000 classes in cooperation with the Culture Centre of the Histadrut meeting 4 hours weekly, 300 classes in Jerusalem meeting 5 hours weekly, and 1000 classes in the cities and moshavot meeting 5 hours weekly. The number of students to be enrolled was estimated between 56,000 and 70,000, and the number of teachers to be engaged was estimated between 1000 and 1400; 2) the 120 intensive ulpan classes included an estimated 6000 students per year, each one studying for a period of six months—or 3000 students for each mahzor—requiring 140 teacher positions at 1000 lirot each per year, making a total of 140,000 lirot for salaries per year.

On May 30, 1951, Mr. Avrekh wrote a letter to Mr. Yavnieli in which he asserted that the Department for Language Teaching had "lost its conscience" in regard to the budget and that it was making commitments and expenditures without giving heed to its ability to pay for them. Mr. Avrekh added that he was sending Mr. A. Rimon, Chief Bookkeeper of the Ministry of Education and Culture, to the Department to assist in preparing an exact and detailed disbursement report.<sup>82</sup> Mr. Rimon was immediately assigned to review the Department's budget, ostensibly for reductions. Instead, we find that he recommended an additional allocation of 40,900 lirot to be added to the previous proposal.<sup>83</sup>

In an interview with the writer, Mr. Yavnieli explained his position at that time. On the one hand, he said, waves of new immi-



grants were arriving daily and his Department was directed to care for their educational and cultural needs. "How could I," stated Mr. Yavnieli, "submit an exact budget covering a period of one year?"<sup>84</sup> Mr. Avrekh, on the other hand, had made his position clear:<sup>85</sup>

You must understand that although I am vitally interested in the work of your Department and am willing to help, I cannot assume upon myself the responsibility for departing from a budget, and it is impossible to meet the obligations that the Department assumes upon itself.

This controversy on the matter of exact budgeting, between the Department's representatives and the Ministry of Education and Culture, continued for many years.

In April of 1951, 605 classes at 209 locations with an enrollment of 10,935 students were being subsidized by the Department for Language Teaching. In classes fully supported by the Department, 9601 students were enrolled. At eight intensive ulpanim and eight work ulpanim, 1179 students were enrolled, making a total adult student enrollment of 21,715.<sup>86</sup>

On September 16, 1951, Mr. Moshe Sharett, who was Minister of Education and Culture for a short period, wrote to Mr. Yavnieli requesting a budget for the Department which would reflect the needs of the time and the prospects for immigration.<sup>87</sup> An interim budget was submitted by Mr. Yavnieli for the period of October 1, 1951, through March 31, 1952.<sup>88</sup>

TABLE XIX. PROPOSED BUDGET FOR THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING, OCTOBER 1, 1951—MARCH 31, 1952.

Adult language classes—with the objective of reaching 80,000 students	760,000Lirat
Intensive ulpanim—240 classes, with 265 teachers and principals, and 6000 students at each <u>mahzor</u> or 12,000 students a year	266,400



TABLE XIX. (continued)

Institute for teacher-training on Mount Canaan— yearly course for 90 students	40,500 Lirot
Teacher-training courses (in addition to the above)— including supervision and coordination, for 240 students	48,000
	<hr/>
TOTAL	1,114,900 Lirot

This total included the participation by the local authorities.

The budget proposal explained that in the light of past experience the former pattern of courses had been validated, and that therefore the Department planned to continue its teacher-education program of three to four months. Each course was to be given four evenings a week, for three hours each evening. Three of these evenings were for actual study and one was for practical teaching. The Department hoped to add more courses to its program, so that during the one-year period there would be three mahzorim, wherever possible.

The amount of 48,000 lirot for teacher-education courses included salaries for teachers during their vacation periods. This amount was the net cost of the program, since the tuition fee of six lirot paid by the students who had registered for the summer session of the total teacher-education program had already been deducted from the gross cost.

The proposal concluded that if an even greater expansion in all the branches of the Department's service and program was to be anticipated, including all the activities of the earlier budgets, then it was envisaged that the budget would climb to a total annual amount of 2,000,000 lirot.

Upon receipt of the proposed budget, Professor Eliezer Rieger, General Director of the Ministry, replied to Mr. Yavnieli, conveying



to him Mr. Sharett's sentiments:<sup>89</sup>

...The Minister is of the opinion that the Department should direct its activity not only to new immigrants but to all citizens...Our nation is a people without a language, and we must teach them one. It is still possible to make modifications or changes in the budgetary requirements for the months of January, February and March, since the Knesset has reached no decision. You may enlarge the budget in accordance with the needs of providing learning opportunities to 80,000 adults who wish to learn Hebrew. Let us understand that it costs ten lirot a year to give instruction to an adult, a fact which in itself testifies to the need for tripling the budget.

In actuality, however, the Department received an allocation from the Ministry of 200,240 lirot for the 1951/52 fiscal year. This figure does not include the amounts supplied by the local authorities, municipalities and public organizations. Nevertheless, the final allocation fell far short of the amount requested in the proposed budget.

In submitting his budget proposal for the 1952/53 fiscal year, Mr. Yavnieli stated that his Department planned to expand its activities during the year by increasing the number of students by 50% over the preceding year. The net amount requested from the Ministry was 300,240 lirot, a much more realistic figure than had been proposed in the two preceding years. The total amount asked for in the categories listed in the proposed 1952/53 budget was 541,650 lirot, including participation by the local authorities. The latter's contributions ranged from 30% in the district authorities to 50% -- 60% in the cities and towns, or an actual 45% of the total budget. The allocation from the Ministry (300,240 lirot) represented approximately 13% of the total overall budget of 14,313,694 lirot requested by the Ministry of Education and Culture for the year 1952/53, and authorized by the Government of Israel.<sup>90</sup>



TABLE XX. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING, 1952/1953.

Ulpanim for the <u>olim</u>	132,310 Lirot
Cultural activities and socials in immigrant settlements	89,100
Teacher-training and in-service teacher-improvement	14,900
Culture centers and their upkeep (38 conducted)	13,430
Advertising, publicity and publication of <u>Prozdor</u> and <u>Maslul</u> --free distribution of 24,000 copies	20,000
Text materials, teaching aids, and audio-visual aids	18,500
Purchase of automobiles, records and films	4,000
Newspapers and periodicals for culture centers	<u>8,000</u>
NET TOTAL	300,240 Lirot

The first three items in the proposed budget were explained in detail:

1. Ulpanim for the olim. By the end of 1951 the Department had maintained 12 ulpanim for intensive study of the language and 14 additional ulpanim as work-ulpanim in agricultural settlements. A total of 2155 students were receiving instruction in 56 class units. The Department proposed to increase the number of students by 50%, to increase the program of language information and promotion, and to establish basic libraries.
2. Cultural activities and socials in immigrant settlements. The Department was not only involved in teaching the language but it also directed the overall cultural programming aimed at bringing "awareness" in the areas of Zionism and citizenship. On the average of once a month the Department conducted a literary and art evening in every immigrant settlement. In addition, the Department organized singing groups and dancing groups for public performances. In the preceding year the allocation for this program had been 30,270 lirot.



The Department requested a larger allocation for the coming year, inasmuch as it planned to introduce more language content into the operation.

3. Teacher-training and in-service teacher improvement. The budget proposal stated that the Department had not been receiving the needed amount to sustain the activity of teacher-education for adult language teaching. During 1952, it planned to open 10 classes for teacher-education in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Netanya and Rehovot, each course to take eight months. Teacher salaries were figured at a rate of 3 lirot per hour for 50 hours of teaching per month, or 150 lirot per month. For ten classes for a period of 8 months, this amounted to 12,000 lirot for salaries. Added to the cost of supervision, rent, maintenance, utilities, and so forth, amounting to 2900 lirot, the total figure of 14,900 was arrived at.

This chapter has concerned itself with the establishment of the Department for Language Teaching (Mahleket hanhalat ha-lashon) and its budgetary problems, from December 1, 1949, through the 1952/53 fiscal year. In the following chapter we shall turn our attention to the actual operation of the Ulpanim by the Department, and by other sponsoring organizations, during this same period.



Chapter VII.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ULPANIM

The conception, organization, financing and operation of the network of all types of ulpanim, beginning with Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem, was a joint effort of the Department for Language Teaching of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency. As was the case with Etzion, the Absorption Department provided the buildings (classrooms and dormitories), while the Department for Language Teaching supplied the teachers, the textual materials, teaching aids and supervision.

As the program developed, municipalities, local authorities, labor groups and public organizations, such as the Histadrut, either helped to finance existing ulpanim or established their own. The Ministry of Education subsidized these programs, primarily in teachers' salaries, depending on the ability to pay of the sponsoring group. At times, the Ministry contributed as high as 80% of the total cost of operation. Agreements were signed between the Ministry and the local authorities and public organizations at the beginning of each fiscal year, defining the sum to be allocated and the manner in which reports were to be prepared to serve as a basis for allocations. The Ministry issued the following regulations:<sup>91</sup>

The local authorities and the public organizations which organize classes for teaching the language to adults and other cultural activities with our assistance shall deliver to the authorized representative of the Ministry in the district, by the eighth day of each month the following reports and documents:

- (1) A list of classes operating during the current month bearing the official stamp of the authority and the signature of its official representative.



- (2) Class registration lists of the preceding month shall include the registration of attendance, the content of lessons and the signature of the teacher. A copy of the class registration list will be retained by the teacher and serve as the basis for the teacher's salary.
- (3) A personal questionnaire and certificates proving the education and the length of service of each new teacher will be submitted to the representatives of the Ministry for approval before the teacher may begin his work.
- (4) A list of study groups for the current month in the same manner as the list of classes as specified in (1).
- (5) A report covering all adult education activities, including study groups, shall be submitted for each preceding month. The responsible authority shall enclose with this report an exact copy of all the lecturers' receipts for sums paid with the reference number and dates.

The nature of the ulpanim as they developed through the 1950's remained the same, with minor modifications due to the fluctuations of immigration, special needs of the immigrants, and refined methods of instruction and organization. Four types of ulpanim served as a pattern for all the schools established by the local authorities and public organizations with the assistance of the Ministry. They were:<sup>92</sup>

1. Intensive Ulpan - 30 hours per six-session week for a period of 5 months, or a total of 600 hours for the entire course.
  2. Popular Ulpan - 16 hours per four-session week for 10 months, or an average of 560 hours for the entire course.
  3. Ulpanit - 8 hours per four-session week for a period of 20 months, or an average of 420 hours for the entire course.
  4. Popular Ulpanit - 4 hours per three-session week, no time set.
- The intensive ulpan was sub-divided into three kinds: 1) an ulpan with boarding facilities; 2) an ulpan without boarding facilities; and 3) a work-study ulpan, which is conducted in the kibbutzim or



other communal settlements and whose students devote half their time to study and half to work. In this type of ulpan the course of study is 24 hours per week for six months, or a total of 560 hours for the entire course.

As was noted in the chapter on Ulpan Etzion, the intensive ulpan was primarily designed for intellectuals and professionals, but it also accepts office-workers and students with a high school education. The work-study ulpanim were established primarily for younger persons, from 20 to 35, who have no means of livelihood but wish to train themselves for some form of manual employment in Israel. Many of these students are from America and Western Europe. The popular ulpan is open to all types of immigrants who wish to learn the language.

The course of studies in the ulpanim was originally divided into four stages or terms. Those students who completed the full course of study received an ulpan certificate which eventually became a requirement for job application in certain government agencies. Those students who did not complete the full course received a certificate of their length of study and level of achievement. The basic vocabulary list included approximately 1500 words which were helpful to the teacher in planning his lesson outline. In addition to instruction and homework, social and cultural activities and professional studies were included in the curriculum. A later chapter will investigate in detail the course of studies and the educational process of the ulpanim.

On April 20, 1950, Ulpan Motzkin for internists (students rooming/boarding at the ulpan) was opened in Bat Galim, Haifa. There was an



enrollment of 180 students, of whom 148 were internists living in the dormitory and 32 were externists living in outside lodgings but having their meals at the dormitory dining-room. Mrs. Esther Levenharz was appointed principal of the Ulpan, and has continued in the same capacity ever since its founding.<sup>93</sup>

Two more mahzorim continued at Ulpan Etzion during the 1950 academic year. The second mahzor opened on March 26, 1950, with an enrollment of 173 students, of whom 127 were internists. The average age of these students was forty years. Their countries of origin were: Poland, 43 students; Czechoslovakia, 32; Yugoslavia, 22; Rumania, 13; Hungary, 13; Bulgaria, 12; Germany, 5; Russia, 5; England, 4; Austria, 3; Iraq, 3; Egypt, 2; United States, 6; Canada, 2; and one student each from France, Belgium, Italy, Turkey, Greece, Algiers, Tripoli and South Africa. In all, 22 countries were represented in the student body. The professions of the students were: bookkeepers and economists, 51; secretaries, 34; teachers, 34; and lawyers, 39. Fifteen students had no professional background, but were high school graduates.<sup>94</sup>

The third mahzor at Ulpan Etzion opened on September 10, 1950, with an enrollment of 258 students. They came from 27 lands. Two hundred and one of these students had immigrated to Israel during the same year, 1950; 40 in 1949; 15 in 1948; and 2 in 1947. Their countries of origin were: Poland, 65; Rumania, 63; Hungary, 33; Yugoslavia, 17; Germany, 7; United States, 12; and England, 6. The other countries were not listed. Neither were the professions of the students given.<sup>95</sup>



On March 18, 1950, an ulpan was opened in Mahne Yisrael in Netanya. One hundred and fifty students enrolled.<sup>96</sup>

During 1950, a special ulpan was opened for rabbis of the Middle East communities, on Mount Zion in Jerusalem. Classes began on December 12 with an enrollment of 50 persons, of whom 31 had rabbinic ordination (smikha). Rabbi Zvi Klein of the Ministry of Religion had requested the organization of this ulpan in a letter to the Jewish Agency, in which he wrote that "in deference to olim coming from oriental and Middle-East countries, specialized study and orientation should be given them (the rabbis) in order that they may better serve their parishioners."<sup>97</sup> A dormitory was set up in the Bet ha-olim (immigration reception center) at Givat Shaul, which accommodated 35 internists. The remaining fifteen students were housed with families near the ulpan. Hapoel ha-mizrahi provided the food in the dining-room. The course of studies for the Ulpan Torani and the hours for each subject were as follows: Talmud, 5 hours weekly; Shulhan Arukh, 5 hours weekly; Yoreh Deah, 10 hours weekly; Tanakh, 3 hours weekly; Jewish history, 3 hours weekly; history of the Yishuv, 2 hours weekly; Hebrew language, grammar and conversation, 4 hours weekly; lectures and others, 4 hours weekly.<sup>98</sup>

On December 22, 1950, a special teachers' ulpan was opened in Jerusalem by the Moetzet Poale Yisrael. This ulpan met in the Hista-drut House and lasted for four months. Dr. Kamrat and Mr. Zvi Bar Meir were the instructors. Among the students were graduates of Ulpan Etzion who, Dr. Kamrat reported, "showed excellent understanding and progress in their teacher-training courses." They were assured



positions as teachers in the regular ulpanim following their graduation from the teachers' ulpan.<sup>99</sup>

In 1950 a morning ulpan was opened in Givatayim, Tel Aviv. This was Ulpan Borochoy, which has continued to operate since that time. The same year witnessed the opening of an evening section of Ulpan Borochoy, and another evening ulpan, Ulpan Meir, in Tel Aviv. In these three ulpanim, 337 students were enrolled. The morning section of Ulpan Borochoy offered instruction for 24 hours per week; the other two ulpanim had a weekly course of study of 16 hours. These ulpanim were all "external" since they provided no dormitory facilities for their students.<sup>100</sup>

The following ulpanim were in operation at the end of 1950: Ulpan Etzion, Jerusalem; Ulpan Motzkin, Haifa; Ulpan Borochoy (morning and evening), Givatayim; Ulpan Meir, Tel Aviv; Ulpan Torani, Jerusalem; Ulpan Mahne Yisrael, Netanya; Ulpan Moetzet Poale Yisrael, Jerusalem; also an ulpan at Maaleh ha-hamisha, Jerusalem Corridor; an ulpan at Mishmarot; an ulpan at Mizra; and an ulpan at Elonim.

The teacher-training institutions in operation at the end of 1950 were: Bet Midrash le-morei am, Jerusalem; Mount Canaan Institute, Safad; Semester Institutes, Summer Seminars and District Seminars. The last three types were established by the Department for Language Teaching for periods of three or four months each in the four principal cities of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa and Netanya. A total of 250 teachers received training in them during the 1949/1950 fiscal year.<sup>101</sup>

By 1951, teachers in all types of ulpanim numbered over four hundred and fifty.<sup>102</sup> The standardized hiring procedures, vacations'



tenure and fringe benefits enjoyed by the teachers working in the government public schools were not afforded the ulpan teachers, especially those teaching at the less intensive ulpanim in the country. Dissatisfaction with this treatment was expressed not only by the teachers involved but also by spokesmen of the Federation of Teachers.<sup>103</sup> The ulpan teachers pleaded with the Ministry of Education and Culture for status and professional recognition. Their salary scale was the special bone of contention. The teachers in the intensive ulpanim asked for the same salaries that secondary school teachers received.

On June 15, 1950, a special committee was appointed by the Ministry of Education and Culture to study the hiring procedures, salary schedules and fringe benefits of teachers for adults. The committee was composed of Dr. Noah Nardi, Director of the Department for Language Teaching<sup>104</sup>, Mr. S. Bar-Zamra, assistant to the Director-General of the Ministry, Dr. David Marani, head supervisor of the Department, and Mr. Judah Stein, coordinator of the Department. The following, in part, was the report submitted dealing with the status of teachers of adults:<sup>105</sup>

1. Teachers for adults shall have the same employment privileges as teachers in elementary schools. Vacation conditions shall be fixed separately.
2. A teacher with a college degree (as distinguished from one with a normal school certificate) who teaches in an ulpan shall be accorded the same conditions as a similarly qualified teacher who teaches in a high school. A teacher with a college degree who teaches in regular adult classes shall be accorded the same conditions as a similarly qualified teacher who teaches in an elementary school.
3. A head teacher is required to teach between ten and fifteen hours per week, depending upon the size of the school and local conditions.
4. Regarding teaching assignments for rakazin (culture coordinators), the Department will determine for each individual case.
5. Regional rakazin will be appointed for the Galil, the Sharon,



Judah, the South, and the Shomron.

6. Principals will be appointed for the ulpan in Kiryat Motzkin in Haifa, for the ulpan in Tel Aviv, for the ulpan in Mahane Yisrael in Netanya and for Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem.

Mrs. Frances Gunther took up the case of the teachers. On May 1, 1951, she wrote in the Jerusalem Post:<sup>106</sup>

...Ulpan instruction is of an academic grade, with complex working conditions...Ulpan students themselves are professional people. Many are Ph.D's. There is an obvious inconsistency in placing a teaching staff for college graduates on a primary school salary level...Teaching a new language to a class of thirty adults reared in a dozen different environments and languages requires highly specialized techniques, preparation and individualized instruction...We must point out that the Ulpan is not only an educational factor; it is also a vital national necessity for the integration of new immigrants.

Nevertheless, the recommendations of the committee were not accepted in their entirety. On June 17, 1951, a collective agreement was signed by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Adult Teachers Section of the Teachers' Federation, under which ulpan teachers were to be paid the scale of elementary school teachers.<sup>107</sup>

On September 1, 1951, an ulpan was opened in Nahariya. This ulpan accommodated in its dormitories (hotel rooms) 170 students. Miss Shulamit Katznelson was appointed principal. In her acceptance of the principalship, Miss Katznelson said that she would attempt to inculcate a fresh spirit and motivation in her teaching method. She believed that speaking, reading and writing the language of the country, although of vital importance, were only a small part of the whole course. The sense of citizenship, the love of humanity and the desire to turn Israel into a shining example among the nations were equally important in her estimation. "Our aim," stated Miss Katznelson, "is to integrate the students into Israeli life and make them realise



that they belong."<sup>108</sup> The students at Ulpan Nahariya (later to become Ulpan Akiba) came from Iraq, Rumania, Egypt, the United States and England. They paid their own tuition, 200 lirot for the five-month period. There was no subsidy.<sup>109</sup>

In October, 1951, the Ministry of Education and Culture issued a report listing the adult language classes in the land:<sup>110</sup>

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CLASSES</u>	<u>CENTERS</u>	<u>HOURS</u>	<u>STUDENTS</u>	<u>TEACHERS</u>
Supported	605	219	4707	10,935	369
Subsidized	578	253	2643	9,601	397
TOTAL	1183	472	7350	20,536	766

By April, 1952, the Hebrew language was being taught to 21,852 persons by 925 teachers. There were 19 ulpanim with an enrollment of 1708 students. The two weeklies, Prozbor and Maslul, appeared regularly in 10,000 and 6,000 copies, respectively.<sup>111</sup>

Ulpan Gregg was opened in Jerusalem on March 28, 1952. Professor Abraham Ibn Shushan, Director of the Department for Language Teaching, stated in his opening remarks that approximately 150,000 persons had learned the fundamentals of the Hebrew language in government and other public courses since the founding of the State. He recommended that, in the light of the decreased immigration at that time, the various institutions concentrate on improving their methods to insure greater effectiveness and to attract more new immigrants to the different types of ulpanim in the land.<sup>112</sup>

In September, 1952, Ulpan Hillel was opened in Jerusalem. Classes met four evenings a week for four hours each session. Directing this ulpan was Mr. Louis Shuval, an American, who had served as



Director of Promotion at the Keren Hayesod Agency in Jerusalem. In 1950 he had interested Mr. Zalman Shazar, Minister of Education and Culture, in his method of teaching Hebrew to new immigrants. Mr. Shazar had authorized him to organize an ulpan on Mount Canaan in Safed. This ulpan operated for one year.

The basic method employed by Mr. Shuval was borrowed from the United States Army (in its foreign language teaching program during the Second World War) and was modified to Israeli purposes, environment, and needs. Two hundred and twenty students enrolled in the first mahzor which lasted  $4\frac{1}{2}$  months. Ten classes were organized, ranging from beginners to advanced. The students included new immigrants and residents—office workers, professionals, businessmen and housewives.<sup>113</sup>

Mr. Shuval explained that his method reproduces the manner in which children learn to speak, that is, by listening to the language around them, without considering grammar. The beginners learn by constant repetition, capturing the basic rhythms of the speech. Words are learned as part of a sentence and not as isolated objects for memorization. Grammar is left until after speech patterns have been established. The students are not permitted to use dictionaries in class, and note-taking is forbidden. This method, termed the ma'holah or choral method, was rejected by the leading ulpan teachers, among whom were Dr. Kamrat and Dr. Marani. They felt the method was too much of a "rote" technique.<sup>114</sup>

Between May 15, 1948, and May 15, 1952, a total of 698,528 immigrants came to Israel. Of these, 5826 persons received their



Hebrew language and culture education in intensive ulpanim of 30 hours weekly and in ulpaniot of not fewer than 16 hours weekly. Table XXI indicates the number of students, by education and occupation, which made up this segment of 5,826 persons.

TABLE XXI. NUMBER OF STUDENTS BY EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION<sup>115</sup>

(As of August 15, 1952)

<u>Education</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>
Secondary	3,592
University	2,234
	<hr/>
TOTAL	5,826
 <u>Occupation</u>	
Managerial, Administrative, Clerical & Allied	1,747
Accountants	1,159
Teachers	799
Lawyers	492
Clergymen, 5; Rabbis, 2	7
Journalists	135
Artists, musicians, actors, etc.	32
Social workers	131
Scientists	55
Economists	64
Writers	27
Pharmacists	33
Engineers	30
Physicians	137
Students	340
Miscellaneous	638
	<hr/>
TOTAL	5,826

These 5,826 persons had attended 34 ulpanim. There were 3,151 men and 2,675 women among the students. Fourteen of these 34 ulpanim were subsequently closed down, for administrative reasons or because of a drop in immigration.<sup>116</sup>

Table XXII shows the number of students by country of origin,



as compared with the immigration figures. These figures are presented exactly as given in the source. However, the writer finds that the figures in the percentage columns are not always exactly accurate.

TABLE XXII. NUMBER OF STUDENTS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, COMPARED WITH IMMIGRATION FIGURES. (May 15, 1948 — May 15, 1952)<sup>117</sup>

<u>COUNTRY OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>NO. OF ULPAN STUDENTS</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL ULPAN</u>	<u>IMMIGRANTS</u>	<u>% OF IMM.</u>
Rumania	1,659	28.6	122,264	1.30
Iraq	1,040	18.0	118,874	.90
Doland	911	15.7	104,801	.80
Hungary	250	4.3	13,977	1.80
Bulgaria	232	4.0	37,340	.60
Yugoslavia	229	4.0	7,629	3.00
United States	223	3.9	2,038	10.00
Czechoslovakia	207	3.5	18,431	1.00
Germany	200	3.4	8,669	1.90
Egypt	147	2.5	16,661	.80
Russia	126	2.0	4,835	2.50
England	116	2.0	2,258	4.50
North Africa	90	1.6	79,635	.10
Australia	87	1.5	2,711	3.20
France	62	1.00	3,798	1.50
Holland	45	.80	1,154	3.70
Turkey	34	.50	34,472	.10
Belgium	23	.40	1,194	1.90
Switzerland	20	.30	353	5.10
Greece	13	.20	2,070	.60
Persia	12	.20	25,850	.04
Canada	9	.10	261	2.70
Italy	8	.10	1,428	.60
Other Countries	83	1.4	87,825	.98
TOTAL	5,826	100.00	698,526	

During 1950 and 1951, out of a total immigration during this period of 343,306 persons, 55,975 received Hebrew language education in all of the various types of courses. This figure represents 16.3% of all the immigrants.

In the early years of the Department for Language Teaching, the



pressures and urgency of their work prohibited the directors from devising a unified course of studies for the various types of institutions. The teachers, knowing the aim of the program, did their best to achieve it, but there were almost as many curricula as there were good teachers. With the expansion of the program and the hiring of many young and inexperienced teachers, many of whom were graduates of the ulpanim themselves, the necessity to draw up a standard curriculum to guide the teachers in their work became evident. The Department appointed curriculum committees, and in September, 1952, it issued a standardized course of studies for all types of ulpanim in Israel.<sup>118</sup> Though uniform in approach, it varied for each type of ulpan in the intensiveness of study and the length of the study period. The maximum coverage and top results were anticipated in the intensive 30-hours per week, five-month ulpanim. A similar curriculum was covered in a ten-month period in the 20-24 hours per week ulpan. In the 12-16 hours per week "popular" ulpaniot, it would take a two-year period, or twenty months, to accomplish approximate results.

The curriculum included speaking, reading and writing the Hebrew language; grammar; literature; Scriptures; Aggadah; knowledge of the homeland; the history of Israel; citizenship; and singing. The course was divided into four shelabim (stages). At the termination of each sholob, the student was given a transfer certificate to the next stage of study. At the termination of the four shelabim, he received a final certificate from the Ministry of Education and Culture, stating that he had successfully completed the requirements laid down by the Ministry for the ulpan course.



During this year, the Department prepared textbooks for ulpan students based on the approved syllabus. Two pamphlets entitled Pesukim (Passages) appeared, containing a selection of Biblical and post-Biblical texts for students in the second and third shelabim. Pamphlets on geography, civics and music were also prepared.<sup>119</sup>

In 1953, immigration slowed down and, as past experience of the preceding thirty years had taught the Yishuv, the need for language education for adults was relatively reduced. The one significant exception at this time was the accumulated need that had not been met adequately in the years 1948-1952, that is, the number of adult immigrants who, for one reason or another, had not received language education. The 1953/54 budget proposal of the Department for Language Teaching stated that, despite the anticipation of a lowered aliyah, the Department would nevertheless need to maintain the same number of all types of ulpanim.<sup>120</sup> The proposal pointed out that during a relative drop in immigration, the specific needs for language and cultural adaptation and integration change. When there is a sudden mass immigration, it becomes urgent to offer the immigrants the skills of the language so that they can obtain employment. But when the new immigrants are settled and have become acquainted with the Hebrew language and Israeli culture, the language and cultural needs are of a different nature. Notwithstanding the 19,721 adults who were receiving instruction in the ulpanim, the Department felt that it had not met the challenge of bringing the Hebrew language to all the new immigrants who needed it.<sup>121</sup>

In accordance with the current commitments and the finances



available, the Department proposed the retention of the following numbers of ulpanim:

TABLE XXIII. PROPOSED ULPANIM, 1953/1954.

<u>INSTITUTION</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>CLASSES</u>	<u>INSTRUCTION HOURS</u>
Intensive ulpanim	5	31	930
Work ulpanim	9	18	540
Popular ulpanim	15	45	1350
Ulpaniot	no data	450	4500
Popular ulpaniot	no data	800	3600
		<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL		1,344	10,920

The budget required to sustain the above institutions was a minimum of 450,000 lirot, after tuition deduction of 82,000 lirot. The proposal listed seventeen full-time teachers in the intensive ulpanim, fifty-seven teachers in the popular ulpanim, and 208 teachers in the ulpaniot. This listing was for the supported institutions. For the subsidized institutions, there were 662 teachers: 13 in the intensive ulpanim; 11 in the work ulpanim; and 638 teachers in the different types of ulpaniot. There were ten persons engaged in supervision of these ulpanim. They were listed as rakazei ha-reshuyot (educational-organizers).

The initial stages of the national effort to establish a network of language and culture teaching institutions throughout the land set the pattern which was to be followed in the years to come. Subsequent chapters will deal with the further development of the program of hanhalat ha-lashon. Simultaneous with this overall attempt to Hebraize the Yishuv and to afford instrumentalities for the integration of the olim, was the highly successful program developed by the Israeli Army, which will also be discussed in a later chapter.



Chapter VIII.

REACTIONS TO THE PROGRAM OF HANHALAT HA-LASHON

During the early years of the Department for Language Teaching, numerous voices were raised in the public forum, and in the press and periodicals, in support and encouragement or in criticism of the program of hanhalat ha-lashon. These voices belonged to leading spokesmen of the Histadrut, the Mapai party and the Ministry of Education and Culture. Their concern for the education of the olim served as an impetus for the entrenchment of the program in the ensuing years, as well as for the creation of a favorable climate of opinion regarding hanhalat ha-lashon in the general community.

At a meeting of the Education Committee of the Knesset on February 17, 1949, Mrs. Rachel Cohen, Mapai member of the Knesset, urged that the government adopt a clear-cut policy and assume full responsibility for budgetary needs, not only in the matter of the new law for elementary education, but also in the teaching of the Hebrew language and culture to hundreds of thousands of new adult immigrants.<sup>122</sup>

At the same meeting, Mr. Pinhas Rosen, serving temporarily as Minister of Education and Culture, stressed the need to provide education for citizenship in the State of Israel. He stated that the "feeling of belonging" is the most significant criterion for citizenship and that in the process of adjustment of the new olim the learning of the Hebrew language is most vital. Mr. Rosen was concerned about the acute problem of teacher shortage, particularly



in the field of adult language and culture education.<sup>123</sup>

Mr. Abraham Levinson, editor of the Orot journal of the Histadrut, wrote that every institution or public agency engaged in cultural activities in the State must give primary consideration to teaching the language to immigrants who are illiterate or border on illiteracy. He predicted that the efforts to teach the language and to reduce illiteracy would remain a "must" for many years to come. He felt that in the face of the enormous immigration from 1948 to 1950 the projected system of evening classes could not satisfy the needs and that the government, together with the Histadrut, could not provide an adequate budget for the evening classes and for the eradication of illiteracy. He suggested that the scheduled periods of study for the evening classes be shortened into a "quick first-aid" teaching plan, since, under the economic and social conditions of the majority of olim in the immigrant camps, in immigrant settlements and in isolated villages, it cannot be hoped that the oleh will exhibit a sustained interest in his studies for a year or a year-and-a-half. Mr. Levinson called attention to the teacher shortage and the fact that there were unemployed teachers who refused to go to the immigrant settlements to teach. He charged the government with the responsibility to provide teachers for these classes, and in adequate numbers. He also recommended the use of newer techniques and aids in teaching -- such as the daily newspapers, films, suitable texts, socials and so forth.<sup>124</sup>

In 1951, at a conference of Histadrut and government workers, Mr. David Remez, Minister of Education and Culture, reported on the status of language and culture education in the State. Although he



felt that progress had been made, he pointed to the need for improving the physical facilities in which classes were held in the immigrant settlements, and for training at least a thousand dedicated teachers to bring the homeland's language and culture to the incoming immigrants.<sup>125</sup>

Mr. Joseph Shapiro, director of the Department of Immigrant Settlement of the Histadrut, asserted that the primary task of the Histadrut's Centre of Education and Culture was its program of adult language education, which was concerned not only with teaching the students to speak Hebrew, but in no less degree to orient them to a spiritual adjustment and adaptation to the homeland and to the Histadrut.<sup>126</sup>

Mr. Shapiro developed the idea of cultural pluralism, and cautioned the Yishuv that, in its concerted drive to absorb the immigrants, it must nevertheless preserve the unique culture which "every tribe of Israel has brought with it," and blend it into the total renewed cultural creativity. He was concerned that there be no lower or higher form, no "haves and have-nots", no first-class and second-class citizens. "We must select the best and finest in all contributions of all ages and all groups of our brethren, and create a new unity."<sup>127</sup>

Mr. Bezalel Shahar, director of the Histadrut's Centre of Education and Culture, called for a national law for the teaching of the Hebrew language to olim, to serve as a stimulant for cultural absorption in the homeland and the Histadrut. He was critical of the government's action in withdrawing financial support from many of the Histadrut's vital educational activities, and fearful for the future of these programs which had been established through much effort and labor. He stated that the Histadrut alone could not carry on the task, and



that it had a right to demand support from the government agencies for a cooperative plan to finance the cultural programs.<sup>128</sup>

On December 19, 1951, Mr. Shmuel Yavnieli, Director of the Department for Language Teaching, wrote an article in the Davar in which he expressed grave concern about the seeming indifference on the part of the government and other agencies toward providing adequate means for the teaching of the Hebrew language to the new immigrants. He observed that the program of hanhalat ha-lashon should not be conducted in spurts of interest, or as a gesture of good-will, but should instead become an obligation, one of the first basic responsibilities in the process of the upbuilding of the land and the rebirth of the people. "It must become a law such as no one can tamper with," he said.<sup>129</sup>

Mr. Yavnieli stated unequivocally that this obligation must be assumed by the government, in which he included the executive branch, the Knesset, the central government authorities and the regional and local authorities. "All these must unite their efforts and cooperate in this common endeavor." He recalled that Premier David Ben Gurion had proclaimed this government responsibility for hanhalat ha-lashon la-am in the Knesset, and that the representatives had approved it and authorized its full implementation.

But what do we find? We have set up an overall program to meet the pressing needs and yet the funds available to us are inadequate to satisfy these needs.

It seems that cultural programming has always been relegated to a corner by the various organizations, including the Jewish Agency and particularly the Mandatory Government. It has continued to be a side issue even at this time. Funds are allocated for such programming by statisticians and budget economists who rely on formulas, categories, or their own discretion, without considering the purposes and needs for such expenditures.



Mr. Yavnieli pointed out that the funds made available for 1952 for hanhalat ha-lashon by the Knesset would run out in the middle of the year. Many of the ulpanim and ulpaniot would be forced to close, and teachers would have to be thrown out of work. He realized that the government was undergoing a strain on its financial resources, and that a period of austerity prevailed in the total economy. Yet he felt that there had been attempts at denying basic cultural requirements for, and discriminating against, a "certain type of citizenry!" This development he termed unfortunate, even when there is austerity.

In response to Mr. Yavnieli's appeal for action on behalf of hanhalat ha-lashon, the Government of Israel appointed a Supreme Culture Council under the aegis of the Ministry of Education and Culture to study the problems of teaching the language in the land and to propose improvements. This Council came into being on March 13, 1952. Its members were Professor Benzion Dinur, Minister of Education and Culture, chairman; Professor Eliezer Rieger, Mr. Shmuel Yavnieli and Mr. Zalman Shazar. The Council functioned through six subcommittees, each responsible to advise and guide the programming in these areas: a) propagation of the Hebrew language; b) cultural activity in the community; c) education in civics and the Israeli way of life; d) literature; e) art and the theatre; and f) public institutions.<sup>130</sup>

On January 14, 1953, Mr. Yavnieli wrote another article for the Davar in which he discussed the functions of the Supreme Culture Council and particularly the activities of the special nation-wide



committee created by the Council, the Hever Beilei ha-lashon we-ha-tarbut ha-ivrit (The Fellowship of Workers for the Hebrew Language and Culture).<sup>131</sup>

A national convention of all agencies and organizations -- professional, labor, business, government and private -- was to be convened in March, 1953, to deal with the vital problems of Hebraizing the Yishuv. Prior to the convention, Ha-hever set up local committees in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa. These committees organized their territories by establishing separate promotion and working units in each city, according to a definite plan of population distribution and availability of meeting facilities. Each unit was to be engaged in the following activities:

1. Attention and vigilance to hanhalat ha-lashon -- making certain that all persons requiring Hebrew language education were receiving it at the existing Hebrew classes in their neighborhoods, whether conducted by the government (Department for Language Teaching) or under other auspices (labor groups, municipalities, etc.), whether these classes were being taught by regular teachers or by volunteers (members of Ha-haver), and whether the instruction was carried out in classrooms or in small groups at the homes of the students or in other suitable places.
2. The setting-up of new culture centres, reading rooms and libraries in every geographic unit, and the improvement of the existing ones.
3. The wider accessibility of Hebrew books, periodicals and newspapers.



4. The creation of a Hebrew spirit in the environment.

Every member of Ha-hever volunteered to devote two hours per week to the task of carrying out the above functions of the Fellowship. Mr. Yavnieli stated that the immediate objective of the Fellowship was to arouse the public and the membership to recognize the urgent need for the creation of a Hebrew spirit and consciousness in the life of the total citizenry. He quoted the late President, Chaim Weizmann, as saying that he would like to see Eretz Yisrael become Hebraic just as England is English. Although this situation had been attained in the political sense, it had not yet been attained in the language and cultural sense. "For," declared Mr. Yavnieli, "we still find large segments of our population not feeling a need for our language, and in many settlements the predominant language is not Hebrew." He observed that the oleh who immigrates to Israel has been redeemed from his long exile, has returned at last to his homeland, and has already begun to set roots.

However, this oleh still carries on his back his spiritual wandering sack — a foreign language and a foreign culture ... What is of greater consternation is the fact that there are among us olim who have become watikin, and who have borne children and grandchildren in this land, and still they cling to the exile's wandering-sack which is carried tenaciously on their backs.

Mr. Yavnieli exhorted the public not to permit such conditions to continue because in rebuilding a homeland the cultural regeneration is part and parcel of the process, and disregard or complacency toward the upbuilding of the cultural stature makes the entire process of upbuilding a false effort. He said that the nation-wide conference was being convened to bare the facts to the people and to create a



public opinion that would influence the individual citizen and all segments of the Yishuv to do something about the problem. Specifically, he recommended that every oleh should, within two years after arriving in Israel, shake off the foreign influences and become a student of the Hebrew language and culture, refrain from reading a foreign newspaper, and so on. If the olim do not live up to these expectations, it is definitely proper to point out to them their obligations as citizens in the State of Israel.

Mr. Yavnieli suggested that arousing the public to a constructive awakening should be accomplished through promotion, interpretation and explanation, and not by legislation. In this respect, he had modified the views expressed in his earlier article regarding legislation (see page 258). With this action he parted company with Nahum Levin, who continued to hold that foundation education in the Hebrew language for new olim should be compulsory, in the same way that public elementary education is for children. However, the two men remained in agreement that the provision of funds by the government for hanhalat ha-lashon should not be sporadic, but on a fixed and regular basis, and that priority consideration in government budgeting should be given to the requests of the Department for Language Teaching. Both men held the view that there was not sufficient stature given to the Department. It was not considered by the Knesset to be an essential activity and therefore arbitrary cuts in budgetary requests were often made by the Treasury through the Ministry of Education and Culture.

It will be reported in a later chapter that Mr. Yavnieli, in



1957, recommended the setting up of a different structure in the Department for Language Teaching, which, in his opinion, would command a greater respect by the Knesset, the local authorities, the Federation of Teachers, the Histadrut culture centres, and even the wide public.



Chapter IX.

HANHALAT HA-LASHON IN 1954-1955: THE YEAR OF THE MIVTZA

The follow-up to the national promotion discussed in the preceding chapter came in the form of the Mivtza le-hanhalat ha-lashon (Operation Language Teaching), undertaken by the Department for Language Teaching under the initiative and chairmanship of the Minister of Education and Culture, Professor Benzion Dinur. Serving with Professor Dinur in this undertaking were the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Posts, the Minister of Police, the Chief of Staff of the Army, and twenty-three others.

This popular campaign was designed to launch a mass movement for the learning of Hebrew and to increase the number of students, which had been diminishing consistently in the prevailing courses. This was to be a "year of teaching the language to the people." The aims of the campaign were:<sup>132</sup>

1. To provide a basic knowledge of the Hebrew language in speaking, reading and writing for every citizen of the country eighteen years of age and over.
2. To give the people a rudimentary knowledge of Israeli culture and a knowledge of the land of Israel.
3. To give additional knowledge of the Hebrew language and Israeli culture to those persons who already had a little.
4. To promote among the people a spirit of volunteering to teach without pay, and a national dedication toward the integration of the Israeli society.



The concrete aim of the campaign was to put 150,000 men and women through two six-month courses.

Professor Dinur issued a proclamation initiating the Mivtza in which he stated:<sup>133</sup>

We should like to believe that this campaign can arouse in the people the spirit of volunteering and civics, which are the sole conditions for integrating the Israeli society and establishing friendly relations.

We desire that there not be found in Israel Jews who cannot communicate among themselves in the Hebrew language; that there not be found in Israel even one Jew who has not acquired the fundamentals of the language or who cannot understand the language of his people; that every citizen can converse with every person in the State; that he can read everything which is related to daily living; that he can write whatever he finds necessary for himself.

We are therefore turning to every individual and the public with a strong request to take an active part in this mivtza. This is a demand of all the generations -- the demand of former generations, the insistence of our own generation, and our privilege and responsibility for the future generations.

On September 19, 1954, Dr. Moshe Avidor, the Director-General of the Ministry of Education and Culture, sent out a circular to all teachers in which he requested that they devote a part of the cultural activity at every public meeting they would participate in, from that time until the end of October, to the subjects Operation Language Teaching and Cultural Integration. In addition, the teachers were to call specific meetings to advance the cause, "in pursuance of the set plans made by the local committees for the Operation Language Teaching." Dr. Avidor stated that the obligation to volunteer for adult teaching was to be shared by all the teachers. Specifically, they were to show proof of their volunteering by training other volunteer teachers one hour per week during the year's studies, and by inviting these volunteer teachers to observe at



their regular classes and thereby learn the approach.<sup>134</sup>

The same circular contained information on tuition fees at the various ulpanim, evening classes and foundation-education classes operated by the Department for Language Teaching. Because of the increase in teachers' salaries and in-service expenditures, there was to be an increase in tuition, beginning in September, as follows: ulpan, 30 hours, from 8 to 9 lirot; popular ulpan, 16 to 20 hours, from 5 to 6 lirot; ulpanit, 7 to 8 hours, from 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lirot; ulpanit, 4 to 5 hours, from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 1.75 lirot; foundation education, in accordance with the hours of study; and evening study groups, 2 to 3 hours per week,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lirot.

President Yitzhak ben Zvi, speaking at the reception given in Bet ha-Nasi when the campaign was inaugurated, said:<sup>135</sup>

This voluntary effort on behalf of the Hebrew language can be likened to that volunteering without which we could not have achieved what we did in our land, Medinat Yisrael. While volunteering for defense is to volunteer for war for our freedom and independence, yet without a common language we would have remained disintegrated tribes, scattered communities bereft of the feeling that we are the children of one people with one outlook and one objective.

The Department for Language Teaching prepared a text based on 1,000 fundamental words. The book was divided into fifty lessons, with an added dictionary. A Guide for the Volunteer Teacher, containing advice on methods of teaching the language to adults, as well as a number of lesson plans, was included in the kits of the volunteer teachers. Lists of useful terms and idioms, and a book on dialogues were prepared. The original plans called for a series of recordings from the book, short films and film strips on teaching the language, reading material in easy Hebrew, and mobile units with



the latest equipment for audio-visual education and recorded programs.<sup>136</sup>

The organizational methods in use included the registration of new pupils through a chain-system. Every student who succeeded in registering 25 new pupils, usually by affixing a notice on his house "Register Here for Hebrew Lessons," was given official recognition and received a three-month subscription to the Hebrew daily Omer.

Three thousand volunteer teachers and organizers, many of them professional teachers as well as persons who were not teachers, joined the ranks of the nation-wide teacher corps. The volunteers enlisted for a period of three months, teaching four hours per week, twice weekly if the classes were in their vicinity. If the classes were away from their regular residences, they taught once a week for two hours. These volunteer teachers were instructed in their teaching duties by attending brief seminars held in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa, and by a weekly broadcast from Kol Yisrael radio station.

Simultaneously with the Mivtza, the Culture Centre of the Histadrut initiated a Hebrew Correspondence Institute, of which a reported 1200 persons availed themselves. The Department for Language Teaching cooperated in its operation with a subsidy of 2400 lirot. The Telem (Theatre for the Ma-abara), which was founded by the Histadrut's Culture Centre, the Jewish Agency and the Ministry of Education and Culture, through its theatrical performances provided the immigrants with the Hebrew idiom and brought them closer to the cultural life of the country. The Inbal Dance Troupe, a part of Telem, brought to the immigrants the beauty and expressiveness of the dance in the



motifs of the Bible and Israeli folklore. The Culture Centre's mobile orchestra visited the immigrant settlements to play folk music and stimulate community singing. The texts of the Hebrew songs were distributed to the audience. Mobile movie projectors belonging to the Culture Centre were utilized for the showing of films, also under the auspices of Telem.<sup>137</sup>

Reporting on the results of Operation Language Teaching, the Government Year Book stated that, as against a monthly average of 14,500 students in 953 classes in 1953/54, there was a monthly average of 33,575 students in 2,198 classes in 1954/55. There were 12,132 students attending 1,004 classes conducted by volunteer teachers.<sup>138</sup>

On April 5, 1954, Mr. Joseph Shaked, Director of the Department for Language Teaching, wrote to Mr. Sh. Ravitsky, treasurer of the Ministry of Education and Culture, seeking an increased allocation for the Department in order to guarantee the success of the Mivtza which, he said, the Knesset had approved and obligated itself to support. Mr. Shaked requested the following funds:<sup>139</sup>

1. Expenditures for training and supervision for the <u>Mivtza le-hanhalat ha-lashon la-am</u>	5,665 lirot
2. Sharing expenditures for maintaining Hebrew classes	6,900 "
3. Teaching aids, texts, furnishings, audio-visual aids	13,100 "
4. Expenditure for centralized training centers	2,275 "
	<hr/>
TOTAL	27,940 lirot

In the same communication to Mr. Ravitsky, Mr. Shaked reported a reduction in the number of culture centers. Of the thirteen cen-



ters operative in 1953, seven would be closed. These were at Gat Rimon, Tiberias, Meir Yaakob, Givat Shmuel, Pardes Rosenblum, Pardes Hanna and Shaar Menashe. There was to be a reduction also in the number of classes in the work ulpanim during the fiscal year of 1954/55. Mr. Shaked anticipated to operate 14 classes instead of 20. The Department serviced ten maabarot in the area of language teaching.

Mr. Shaked called to Mr. Ravitsky's attention the fact that it was impractical to divide the full annual budget into twelve equal parts, since the needs were seasonal and not steady. The relatively smallest operation was at the beginning of the school year; the maximum was reached in the middle of the year, and by the end of the year the needs tapered off to "practically zero."

In evaluating the Mivtza at the conclusion of the year, Mr. Shaked reported that, although it had met with success, certain problems had been encountered. Primary among these were the shortage of volunteer teachers, the insufficient number of teachers who were willing to travel to the outlying settlements, and the necessity to reach far greater numbers of people whose knowledge of Hebrew was inadequate.<sup>140</sup>

In one of his numerous meetings with Mr. Shaked (who is presently working in the Department of Education and Culture for the Diaspora of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem), the writer recalled to him that a nation-wide program for language teaching had been conducted during the Vaad Leumi days. The writer asked if, during this Mivtza, the people in charge had sought to learn from past experiences when they planned this new, yet similar, operation. Mr. Shaked agreed that experience is worth investigating before launching newer oper-



ations. "However," he said, "our situation in 1954 was different from that of the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi in 1940. We were gathering experience then (1954) under different circumstances, different conditions, and certainly with different needs than in 1940. We were just beginning to test our individual and national human and financial resources. But what we learned during the Mivtza le-hanhalat ha-lashon la-am in 1954 was used beneficially in the Mivtza le-biur ha-analphetiyut (Campaign to eradicate illiteracy) of 1958/59."

During the 1954/55 year, another form of teaching Hebrew to new immigrants was innovated. This was the "roving ulpan." A group of male and female teachers, graduates of the Bet Midrash le-Morei Am, traveled from one immigrant settlement to another and remained in each for seven weeks. This corps of teachers taught Hebrew and foundation education and organized social and cultural programs. They lived together with the students and faced the same conditions in the ma-abara or village. Again in August and September of 1955, one hundred Hebrew University students were sent to immigrant settlements to teach Hebrew and to organize various cultural activities.

Classes were organized this year for special kinds of workers: policemen, prison guards, state employees, and so on. Every police sergeant and plain-clothesman was required to learn Hebrew and become acquainted with the land, if he had not already reached a satisfactory level in these respects. The entire police force of Israel was given an examination by the Ministry of Education and Culture, and approximately 2,000 policemen were placed in special classes. Half of the



hours of study were included in the working day.<sup>141</sup>

Another form of adult education aimed at providing fundamental general education and Hebrew language and culture education were the evening classes conducted by the labor councils in each city or local authority where there was a branch of the Histadrut. Referred to as the Workers' Evening Schools<sup>142</sup>, they were divided into three units or classes: classes for illiterates, elementary classes and secondary classes. The teaching of the Hebrew language and Israeli culture in these evening schools will be dealt with at greater length in a later chapter.

Budgetary requirements for the activities of the Department for Language Teaching diminished in the 1954/55 fiscal year, as compared with 1953/54, because of the drop in immigration. The actual amount spent in 1953/54 for administrative salaries and educational-cultural activities was 620,280 lirot. The proposed overall budget for the 1954/55 year was 599,969 lirot. The sharpest drops were in the allocations for intensive ulpanim, from 95,000 to 65,000 lirot, and for administrative salaries, from 57,850 lirot for 31 employees to 37,969 lirot for 14 employees. The director's salary was 2,900 lirot; a part-time assistant received 1,500 lirot; and lecturers and consultants were paid 800 lirot. In the following table, as we have noted on previous occasions, the figures do not add up to the totals given. The table is presented here as it was found in the source.<sup>143</sup>



TABLE XXIV. ACTUAL 1953/54 BUDGET AND PROPOSED 1954/55 BUDGET FOR THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING.

<u>EXPENDITURES</u>	<u>ACTUAL 1953/54</u> (in lirot)	<u>PROPOSED 1954/55</u> (in lirot)
Salaries	57,850	37,969
Activities: (Total)	562,430	562,000
Evening classes and ulpaniot	406,000	271,350
Ulpanim	95,000	65,000
Correspondence Ulpan		13,200
Foundation classes	47,480	48,000
Cultural Activities	54,000	44,500
Cultural activities at immigrant settlements	60,000	60,000
Additional activities of cultural absorption	40,000	50,000
Maintenance of cultural and educational centers and furnishings	6,500	6,500
Teaching materials, vowelled readers, etc.	29,000	22,800
Mass education	2,000	6,000
Study circles	7,500	7,500
<u>INCOME</u>		
Tuition	85,000	22,700
Sale of newspapers	4,000	1,350
TOTAL	620,280	599,969

During the 1954/55 year there were in operation four ulpanim, with 302 students; nine workers' ulpanim, with 218 students; ten popular ulpanim, with 517 students; the roving ulpan; and 215 ulpaniot with 13,463 students. The total enrollment numbered 14,520 students, not including the unknown numbers serviced by the roving ulpan.

Most of the activity of the language program (77%) was implemented by the local authorities and public organizations. To strengthen the effectiveness and viability of the language classes, the following



methods were instituted: a) integrating foundation education with language teaching; and b) emphasizing the social phase in the classes.<sup>144</sup>

The Department opened collective teacher training sessions in conjunction with the School of Education of the Hebrew University and the Ministry of Education and Culture. This training institute was based on a yerah limud, a month's study per year. In addition, the Department organized zonal, district and national teachers' institutes at which the director of the Department and the area supervisor were in attendance. Special committees were appointed to improve the teaching syllabus and to construct a curriculum for foundation education and a special course of study for police language and culture classes.<sup>145</sup>

In evaluating the total program of hanhalat ha-lashon during this year, Mr. Shaked wrote:<sup>146</sup>

Today the Ministry of Education embraces the adult educational work in the entire State and acts mainly as the financing factor, and supervises administratively and pedagogically. Its direct action has been reduced. This policy is fraught with difficulties since not all the local authorities are suitable for the task of adult education, in their understanding and their estimation of its importance, nor from the point of view of finance and organization.

In subsequent chapters we shall see that the absence of a central and unified authority for all phases of adult language and culture education -- to which Mr. Shaked here refers -- remained one of the major weaknesses of the program.



Chapter X.

THE PROGRAM OF HANHALAT HA-LASHON IN 1955-1956

On April 18, 1955, a national kinmus was held in Netanya to discuss the educational and administrative problems related to the ulpan system.<sup>147</sup> In attendance were principals, teachers and supervisors of the ulpanim. Paula Apenshlak and Avram Botwinick of the Agaf ha-Ulpanim, Joseph Shaked, Director of the Department for Language Teaching, Dr. Z. Weinberg, Supervisor of the Department for the Tel Aviv district, Shlomo Katznelson, Principal of Ulpan Akiba, and Mr. Y. Sternberg, Principal of Ulpan Borokhov, were among those who participated in the deliberations. The following resolutions were adopted at the kinmus:

1. To establish ulpanim in which the vocational training would be integrated with the language education.
2. To investigate the matter of lengthening the course to one full year.
3. To request the authorities to allocate sufficient funds for cultural activities.
4. To make trips and excursions a prominent aspect of the ulpan curriculum, because of their beneficial effect in the absorption of the students.
5. To create in the meshakim (farms and kibbutzim) more favorable conditions for the absorption of their student-workers, thereby making a genuine contribution to the success of the work-ulpanim.

In connection with the last resolution, the writer had the oppor-



tunity to discuss this matter with a number of teachers.<sup>148</sup> The consensus was that the watikim in the settlements did not always befriend the young students, nor take them into the social activities after working hours -- in short, that there appeared to be an attitude of aloofness toward the new immigrants. The olim had a feeling of "not belonging" which affected their motivation to learn and their readiness to work at all the chores on the meshek. It was in response to this situation that the kinrus called for the creation of better conditions for the absorption of the new olim in the work-ulpanim.

The kinrus also approved to undertake a survey among the students of the ulpanim, and the graduates, to determine the ways in which they were absorbed, and the reasons which brought them to the ulpanim. Finally, it was recommended to concentrate and centralize the work-ulpanim in large meshakim in order to broaden the possibilities for better classification of students and improved teaching.

The

The statistical department of the Agaf ha-Ulpanim of the Jewish Agency issued a report on the number of ulpanim it supported together with the Ministry of Education and Culture. Not included in the following table is Ulpan Akiba in Netanya, which received no maintenance support from the Agaf, since this Ulpan was not operating to absorb new immigrants but was instead primarily an Ulpan for tourists, diplomats, members of Arab groups, and watikim. Ulpan Akiba will be treated under a separate heading.<sup>149</sup>



TABLE XXV. SCHEDULE OF OPENING AND CLOSING DATES FOR ULPANIM.<sup>150</sup>  
(May 15, 1955)

<u>ULPAN</u>	<u>MAHZOR</u>	<u>OPENING DATE</u>	<u>CLOSING DATE</u>	<u>NEXT MAHZOR</u>
<u>Internal Ulpanim</u>				
Etzion	11	Jan. 2, 1955	May 31, 1955	July 7, 1955
Motzkin	10	May 8, 1955	Sept. 30, '55	Nov. 1, 1955
<u>External Ulpanim</u>				
Borokhov (morning)	10	Feb. 15, 1955	July 15, 1955	Sept. 1, 1955
Borokhov (evening)	10	Feb. 15, 1955	July 15, 1955	Sept. 1, 1955
Tel Aviv (evening)	10	Feb. 15, 1955	July 15, 1955	Sept. 1, 1955
Tel Aviv (morning)	9	Jan. 12, 1955	April 30, '55	June 1, 1955
Migdal Ashkelon	1	May 15, 1955	Oct. 15, 1955	Nov. 15, 1955
<u>Work-Ulpanim</u>				
Usha	7	May 15, 1955	Nov. 15, 1955	Dec. 15, 1955
Barukh-Hayal	1	Aug. 1, 1955	Feb. 15, 1956	not given
Galil-Yam	6	Feb. 15, 1955	Aug. 15, 1955	Sept. 15, 1955
Kfar Glickson	1	Jan. 2, 1955	June 28, 1955	not given
Mizra	8	Apr. 20, 1955	Oct. 20, 1955	Nov. 20, 1955
Maaleh ha-hamisha	8	May 2, 1955	Oct. 20, 1955	not given
Maayan Zevi	4	July 3, 1955	Dec. 30, 1955	not given
Saad	2	Aug. 1, 1955	Jan. 30, 1956	not given
En ha-shofet	5	Dec. 18, 1954	June 15, 1955	July 1, 1955

It can be seen from the above report that three new ulpanim were opened this year, at Migdal Ashkelon, Barukh-Hayal and Kfar Glickson. A report issued later in the year, however, reveals that the ulpanim at Migdal Ashkelon and Kfar Glickson were discontinued after one mahzor, and that on November 15, 1955, Ulpan Mazada was opened at Beersheba.<sup>151</sup> Dr. Benzion Dimur, Minister of Education and Culture, hailed the opening of Ulpan Mazada as "a great forward step in the conquest of the Negev." The Ulpan opened with four classes and an enrollment of 88 adults. The curriculum was the standard one used in all the ulpanim. Supervision was given by the Jerusalem office of the Department for Language Teaching. Ulpan Mazada has been operating continually since that time.



On August 10, 1955, the Department for Language Teaching submitted a proposed budget to the Ministry of Education and Culture for its share in financing the program of hanhalat ha-lashon in the land.<sup>152</sup> The proposal indicated that an estimated 25,000 persons would be enrolled in 1000 classes at 220 settlements in the two mahzorim of the 1955/56 school year. The Department reported that the total number of students in the internal and external ulpanim (including Ulpan Akiba and Ulpan Migdal Ashkelon, but not Ulpan Mazada) was 1480, in 37 classes, and distributed as follows:

TABLE XXVI. ENROLLMENT IN INTENSIVE ULPANIM (August 10, 1955).<sup>153</sup>

<u>NAME OF ULPAN</u>	<u>NO. OF CLASSES</u>	<u>NO. OF STUDENTS</u>
Etzion	7	280
Motzkin	7	280
Tel Aviv (Ulpan Meir)---evening	5	200
Tel Aviv (Ulpan Meir)---morning	5	200
Borokhov -- morning	3	120
Borokhov -- evening	4	160
Akiba	3	120
Migdal Ashkelon	3	120
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	37	1480

In addition to the intensive ulpanim, the proposal called for the operation of nine popular ulpanim for 360 students; classes for foundation education for adults; and for ulpanim and ulpaniot operated jointly with the Jewish Agency, the Centre of Education and Culture of the Histadrut, and the Ha-poel ha-mizrahi.

The total budget requested by the Department for Language Teaching for the fiscal year 1955/56, including administration and special projects, was 1,214,656 lirot. This total included a projected amount of 418,050 lirot for the 1955/56 Mivtza le-hisul ha-baarut (Campaign



local and  
Furnishings for  
C. Fully-supported activities.  
to stamp out illiteracy).

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TABLE XAVII. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING,  
1955/1956. (154)

A. Jointly-sponsored activities. (ulpanim and ulpaniot).

<u>INSTITUTION</u>	<u>HOURS PER WEEK</u>	<u>FULL COST</u>	<u>DEPT. COST</u>	<u>DEPT. SHARE</u>
Work Ulpanim	(16 units)	43,200 L.I.	21,700 L.I.	50 %
Hebrew Language				
Classes--Districts	480	40,320	16,130	40
Hebrew Language				
Classes--Immigrant settlements	1120	94,080	84,572	90
Hebrew language Classes--Municipality Areas:				
Southern District	220	18,480	14,784	80
Tel Aviv & Central	600	50,400	25,200	50
Haifa & North	500	42,000	29,400	70
Hebrew language classes--Cities:				
Jerusalem	250	21,000	14,700	70
Tel Aviv - Jaffa	825	69,300	20,790	30
Haifa	770	64,680	22,638	35
Hebrew language classes--Histadrut auspices:				
30 Workers' Councils	700	58,800	41,600	70
Jerusalem	250	21,000	14,700	70
Tel Aviv	400	33,600	13,440	40
Haifa	280	23,520	14,112	60
Hebrew language classes--other auspices: Ha-poel ha-mizrahi, Herut,				
General Zionists:	300	25,200	17,640	68
Hebrew language classes--Welfare institutions:				
Malben (old age homes)	200	16,800	3,360	20
Deaf-Blind institutions, hospitals, prisons	150	12,600	7,560	60

B. Jointly-sponsored cultural activities.

Culture Centers under the auspices of  
local authorities and public organizations 30,240 L.I.  
Furnishings for these centers 20,000

C. Fully-supported activities.

Intensive ulpanim 70,500 L.I.  
Popular ulpanim 20,160  
Ulpaniot and roving teachers; reserve fund  
for Safed, maabara En Shomer, immigrant  
camps in Pardes Hanna, and others 25,200  
Hebrew correspondence ulpan 2,000  
Adult basic education schools 55,440  
Teaching aids, newspaper, subscription to  
Omer, etc. 27,500



TABLE XXVII. (continued)

Audio-visual aids for mass education, Kol Yisrael broadcasts, record players, recordings, illustrated material, etc.	10,300 L. I.
Pedagogic quarterly for teachers of adults, guides for teachers of adults, seminars for teacher-training and in-service courses	1,500
Study month for teachers	500
D. Campaign to eradicate illiteracy	418,050 L. I.
E. Tuition income from ulpanim	39,400 L. I.

The Kol Yisrael broadcasts included lessons in easy Hebrew three times weekly and daily programs of current news and announcements. The proposal specified that Kol Yisrael made no charge for radio time.

The number of ulpanim in operation and the scope of the other language teaching programs were in direct proportion to the size of immigration. Each new aliyah presented the Department for Language Teaching and the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency with new challenges. What shall be the type and method of instruction for immigrants from Morocco or Algeria or Hungary or the English-speaking countries? Shall the curriculum be geared to the intellectual, or shall it be varied, depending upon the cultural backgrounds of the immigrants? Who shall be the teachers — watikin or new immigrants who have completed the Ulpan course of study? What shall be the ultimate goals of Hebrew language education? Shall it be directed to new immigrants only, or shall it be given to all Israelis, however long or brief has been their residence in the land? Whose responsibility is it to educate the new olim and the watikin?

A discussion of these questions appeared in the June, 1955, issue



of the magazine Ba-Ulpanim, published by the Agaf ha-ulpanim of the Jewish Agency and the Department for Language Teaching of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Mrs. Paula Apenshlak, Director of the Agaf ha-ulpanim, expressed the policy of the Jewish Agency in supporting language teaching programs of all types. She stated that the ultimate aim of this education is to effect the absorption of the new immigrants into the economy of the land. Therefore, she did not consider it a function of the Agency to give language instruction to watikim. Mrs. Apenshlak felt that this was the responsibility of the Government through its Ministry of Education and Culture. Since the objective is absorption, she said, the curriculum must be geared to the type of immigrants in the various aliyot. If the adult immigrants possess professional skills, then the ulpan and the language classes should have more content in the framework of language teaching. If, on the other hand, the adult immigrants are illiterate or semi-literate, the curriculum should consist mainly of basic education and vocational instruction, with emphasis upon simple Hebrew for oral communication and reading.

Mrs. Apenshlak suggested that the most suitable teachers and counsellors for the immigrants would be young men and women who had come from the same countries as the olim and who had received their language education in intensive ulpanim or work-ulpanim. She felt that these young people would have emotional and social identification with the newer olim and thus would better succeed in teaching them.

Mrs. Apenshlak proposed to direct the younger olim to work-ulpanim and, upon their completion of the course, to encourage and



assist them to establish themselves in meshakim "where they can begin to create for themselves roots and a form of living consonant with the spirit of Israeli life and their personal cultural and social outlook and background." Another recommendation made by Mrs. Apenshlak, and implemented by the Absorption Department, was to place family units in moshavim. There the immigrant parents with their young or teenage children could pursue their livelihood occupations and at the same time enroll in Hebrew language classes.<sup>155</sup>

Mrs. Esther Levenhartz, Principal of Ulpan Motzkin in Bat Galim, discussed the achievements of the ulpanim not only in integrating the new immigrants into the full economy and social order of the Yishuv, but also in attracting many watikim to study Hebrew for the first time since their arriving in Israel and in Palestine before that. While not touching upon the matter raised by Paula Apenshlak as to whose responsibility it was to teach the Hebrew language to watikim, Mrs. Levenhartz emphasized that adequate budgeting from the responsible agencies--governmental, labor or private--must be provided to convert the illiterate into useful and knowledgeable citizens, and that it did not matter who the learners were. She was particularly concerned over the fact that a watik who does not know how to speak, read or write the Hebrew language may adversely affect the new adult immigrant who comes in contact with him.

To our sorrow we must concede that there are tens of thousands of watikim who have yet to attain the knowledge which is possessed by the ulpan graduates after five months of study. The Hebrew language of the watikim is poor and lacking in vocabulary and correct pronunciation... Their cultural outlets are limited. They do not attend the theatre; they do not read Hebrew books or even newspapers. They live in their circles and neighborhoods... A vast vacuum separates



the generations--the parents and their children... 156

Mrs. Levenhartz pointed to the ulpan as that institution which can help to correct this situation, and urged the watikim to study the Hebrew language intensively and begin to feel a part of the emerging society in Israel. She called attention to the 2000 graduates of Ulpan Motzkin who were already occupying important positions in government and private industry, commerce and the professions, and stated that it was not necessary to require testimonials from these people to know that their ulpan education had made it possible for them to assume such positions.



Chapter XI.

THE PROGRAM OF HANHALAT HA-LASHON IN 1956-1957

The Department for Language Teaching proposed to inaugurate new activities in the 1956/57 fiscal year. Mr. Joseph Shaked addressed a request to Dr. A. Katznelbogen, Deputy Minister of Education, for a larger budget, asserting that the projected activities required additional funds. He explained that the new activities were designed for special groups of immigrants who required an integrated study of the Hebrew language and general elementary education.<sup>157</sup>

To meet these educational needs, the Department prepared a special Hebrew text, Reshit Daat, and a modified course of study geared to learners of low cultural background. This course would take nine months, sixty hours per month, to complete. It would include the study of Hebrew reading, writing and conversation, plus the basic rudiments of arithmetic, hygiene, nature study and civics.

Mr. Shaked indicated that because of the special educational problems involved in teaching illiterates and persons of low cultural background, he felt that experimentation was required to determine the most effective teaching methods.

He asked for a special allocation to be used to compensate laborers who were employed on government projects for ten daytime hours of work per week so that they could study in the classes. Based upon the sixty hours per month suggested for the course, forty hours were to be given during the day and twenty hours in the evenings.

Other ideas proposed by Mr. Shaked in this communication were:



to schedule language classes for mothers concurrently with their children's schedule at school; to utilize the meeting rooms in local councils, immigrant centers and the moatzet ha-pealot reception centers for classes; to employ special teachers to teach these adults; and to create improved teaching aids and textbooks to implement the program.

In April, 1956, a detailed budget proposal was released by the Ministry of Education and Culture and presented to the Third Knesset. In an introductory statement, the scope of operation and the services rendered by the Department for Language Teaching were defined:<sup>158</sup>

The Department supports all types of ulpanim and ulpaniot for the teaching of the Hebrew language and culture. It gives subventions to local authorities, municipalities, labor groups and government agencies to organize classes, pay teachers' salaries and provide supervision. It prepares educational material and teaching aids. It publishes a weekly newspaper, La-mathil, in vowelled and easy Hebrew. It conducts beginners' Hebrew sessions on the radio. It produces or purchases audio-visual aids and distributes them to the language classes and ulpanim. Finally, the Department organizes and conducts teacher seminars and lectures on a regional, local and national level.

The budget proposal was divided into two separate schedules:

1) activities whose cost was shared by the Ministry of Education and Culture with other agencies; and 2) intensive ulpanim, evening ulpanim and special activities, in which the entire cost of teachers' salaries and supervision was borne by the Department. In the first category the Department's share was 253,500 lirot. In the second category the cost to the Department was 198,000 lirot, making a total of 451,500 lirot.



TABLE XXVIII. PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING,  
APRIL 1, 1956—MARCH 31, 1957. (159)

<u>INSTITUTION</u>	<u>CLASSES</u>	<u>HRS./WEEK</u>	<u>TEACHERS' SALARIES</u>	<u>MINISTRY'S SHARE</u>	
				(lirot)	(%)
Work Ulpanim	20	480	53,700 L.I.	21,480	40
Immigrant Ulpaniot	55	330	37,400	14,960	40
Ulpanim—Tel Aviv and other municipalities and public authorities	141	846	83,500	41,750	50
Ulpanim—Haifa	100	600	57,000	34,560	60
Southern District	25	150	14,400	10,800	75
Ulpaniot—Tel Aviv	105	654	63,300	18,990	30
Ulpaniot—Jerusalem	50	300	28,800	18,720	65
Ulpaniot—Haifa	90	540	51,800	15,540	30
Ulpaniot under auspices of Centre of Culture and Education of Histadrut	54	325	31,600	20,540	65
" " Jerusalem	33	200	20,100	13,060	65
" " Tel Aviv—Jaffa	50	300	28,800	11,520	40
" " Haifa and environs	33	198	20,100	11,050	55
Culture workers	—	—	36,000	18,000	50

<u>INSTITUTION</u>	<u>NO./CLASSES</u>	<u>NO./STUDENTS</u>	<u>TEACHERS' SALARIES</u>
Intensive Ulpanim—30 hours/week:			
Etzion, Jerusalem	7	280	25,200 L.I.
Motzkin, Bat Galim	7	280	25,200
Meir, Tel Aviv	5	200	17,800
Borokhov, Givatayim	5	200	17,800
Akiba, Netanya	3	120	11,800
Evening Ulpanim—16 hours/week:			
Borokhov, Givatayim	12	480	21,800
Meir, Tel Aviv			
Acre or Kiryat Shmoneh			
Regional Ulpaniot	125	1875	46,100
Reshit-Daat classes for illiterates	70	2000	23,000
Roving teachers	—	—	6,700
Study-month for ulpan graduates	3	180	2,600

In addition to the items mentioned in the above budget, the Department continued to share in the support of the Correspondence Hebrew Ulpan, which had an enrollment of approximately 1000 students in 1956, at a cost of 500 lirot per month.



The Shenaton Ha-Memshalah for 1956/57 listed the enrollment figures for hanhalat ha-lashon classes in that year as 24,200 students, as against 18,240 students in the preceding year (1955/56). The reason given for the increase was the large-scale operation of K'ra ukhtov (Read and Write) which attracted 1465 students in February and March of 1956. This operation was directed by the Department for Language Teaching, with the help of volunteer teachers and 90 students from the Hebrew University who visited in the homes of the students. The labor councils of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa and Bet Shemesh cooperated in this venture. The Hebrew University students also went to teach in the immigrant settlements.<sup>160</sup>

During the year the Department taped thirty lessons on fifteen records following the text Elef Milim (Book One), and prepared ten illustrated vocabulary color-charts on the following subjects: In the grocery store, In the restaurant, In the post office, On the streets and highways, In the shoe and clothing store, In the infirmary, In the home, In the field and garden, In the kfar, and In the fruit and vegetable store. Sixty thousand copies of the charts were distributed in the ulpanim. Twelve thousand copies of the vowelled weekly La-mathil were printed and circulated for sale.

Among the weaknesses faced in the language classes--in the intensive ulpanim generally and in the ulpaniot particularly--was the problem of students dropping out before they completed the courses. Mr. Moshe Segal, a veteran teacher in Ulpan Borokhov, reported that forty to fifty percent of the initial enrollments in the popular ulpaniot were not on the attendance rolls at the time the mahzor ended.<sup>161</sup>



This was a serious problem when considering what to expect from students in language classes in terms of learning and cultural absorption. Equally difficult was the task of the teacher, who could not plan for a normal class in a prescribed period.

Mr. Segal explained that on frequent occasions the administration of a school was forced to combine two or three classes into one because of the below-the-minimum enrollment in each class. This situation was unsatisfactory because usually the classes were at different levels of study. A sad eventuality would occur when a class had to be closed because the attendance had dropped and there was no possibility for merging classes.

Mr. Segal took issue with the people who blamed the teachers for the drop-outs by saying that the teachers did not know how to motivate, or were not interested in motivating, the adult learner. He said that the persons who made these allegations were unaware of the personal problems of the students, as well as the caliber of the teachers. Among the numerous factors causing drop-outs were sickness, lack of interest, inability to make progress, marriage, and so on. But the one factor which takes the biggest toll is employment. When a job opportunity presents itself, the adult learner is likely to leave his class.

Let us not delude ourselves. Only a small percentage of olim have a strong inner drive to learn the language and become integrated into the cultural life of the land. It is a question of establishing oneself economically, to earn a living and support one's family...Very few of the olim have their own funds... If we assume, and rightly so, that the chief motivation of the students is to become settled, and that the learning of the Hebrew language will aid their becoming established, then it follows that if employment is offered them before they have completed the language course the students feel uninhibited and leave. We as teachers cannot take upon ourselves the responsibility of strongly discouraging their move, however much



we would like them to remain and obtain a better language education. (162)

The situation of large-scale drop-outs from the evening and morning ulpaniot, before the students had a full opportunity to learn the fundamentals of the Hebrew language arts, was one of the basic concerns of the Department for Language Teaching and the Municipality of Jerusalem, according to Mr. Moshe Attias, Superintendent of the Jerusalem Board of Education. This Board also acts as the local authority for the teaching of the Hebrew language to adult immigrants and residents within the city's jurisdiction. Mr. Attias told the writer that in the Jerusalem adult language classes, a system of follow-up of absentees had been introduced in 1957, and that the contacts made had helped to reduce the percentage of drop-outs. "We have found," said Mr. Attias, "that the interest shown in communicating with an adult student to inquire why he (or she) had been absent and to invite him to return, has not only brought back to class many who would have dropped out, but has substantially increased the learning accomplishments of all students."<sup>163</sup>



Chapter XII.

THE PROGRAM OF HANHALAT HA-LASHON IN 1957-1958

A large aliyah was anticipated for 1957. Official sources predicted that the immigration would reach 100,000 persons coming principally from behind the Iron Curtain countries such as Poland, Rumania, Hungary and even the Soviet Union.<sup>164</sup> It was reported that the Russian Government would give exit visas to relatives of persons residing in Israel to permit family reunions.

Actually, 71,000 persons immigrated to Israel in 1957. This was a record aliyah as compared with 54,996 in 1956; 36,327 in 1955; 17,485 in 1954; 10,338 in 1953; and 23,408 in 1952. Approximately 700,000 olim came to Israel between 1948 and 1951.<sup>165</sup>

In view of the 1957 record aliyah, the needs for hanhalat ha-lashon programming were greatly increased and substantially larger budgets were required. The Israeli press reacted to the prospects of the large aliyah by urging the government agencies and the labor groups to mobilize and all-out campaign for sufficient opportunities to teach the new immigrants the Hebrew language and culture.

Mr. Yitzhak Mandaror, of the Culture Centre of the Histadrut, writing in the Hapoel Ha-ta'zir, stressed the importance of the Hebrew language as a positive and effective tool in helping the olim to become integrated and adjusted to their new home. He called upon all concerned with the challenge to extend whatever finances would be needed to perform the task. He took issue with the people who were showing an excessive tolerance by offering numerous excuses for the new immigrants



and the watimim who were not learning the Hebrew language. He said:<sup>166</sup>

It is our duty to educate these people to the fact that they have an obligation to learn the Hebrew language...Perhaps a law should be enacted requiring all Israeli citizens and new immigrants to study Hebrew...and if such a law is passed, we must be prepared with ample budgets and classrooms and teachers to satisfy such all-consuming needs.

Mr. Mandaror chastised the Ministry of Education and Culture because it had reduced the budget of the Department for Language Teaching, notwithstanding the fact that its financial needs had increased.

Mr. Y. L. Grodzinsky, spokesman for the Federation of Teachers and the Centre of Language and Education of the Histadrut, accused the Government, the Histadrut and the public agencies of being indifferent and neglecting their responsibility for caring educationally and culturally for the new olim. In his article in Hapoel Hatzair, Mr. Grodzinsky asserted that the olim want to learn and are "knocking at the doors of the ulpanim for admission."<sup>167</sup>

Because of the lack of funds and foresight we find ourselves in a deplorable situation...We want these people...We need them, and they are looking to us to supply them with the means for adjustment...

Let us be honest with ourselves. Have we not prayed for olim? Now, when they are here and it is within our power to fulfill the mitzvah mizug galuyot, we forget our full obligation.

Whether as a result of the aroused public opinion, or because of its independent realization of the growing needs to supply adequate funds for hanhalat ha-lashon, the Ministry of Education and Culture sought additional funds from the Treasury Department. Dr. Moshe Avidor, Director-General of the Ministry, addressed a memorandum to the Treasury urging that a supplementary grant of 213,000 lirot be made available for hanhalat ha-lashon. He declared that because of the increased aliyah, the language teaching program for the new adult immigrants had



to be expanded, particularly for the professionals to whom the knowledge of the language was a prerequisite to their involvement in the economic, social and cultural life of the State. Dr. Avidor noted that the Jewish Agency had agreed to make a special one-time allocation of 100,000 lirot to maintain the existing ulpanim and to open new ones, on the condition that the Ministry of Education and Culture pay the teachers' salaries in these institutions. It was for these salaries, plus the cost of opening morning and evening language classes for the new immigrants in the cities, towns and immigrant settlements--this latter cost to be shared with the local authorities--that the request for 213,000 lirot was made.<sup>168</sup>

On August 8, 1957, Dr. D. Bergman of the Treasury Budget Committee advised Dr. Avidor that his request for 213,000 lirot had been reviewed and that he (Dr. Bergman) had been directed to reduce the amount to 143,000 lirot. The reason given for the reduction was the sudden sloughing-off of the anticipated aliyah.<sup>169</sup>

The persons directly involved in administering the language teaching program were shocked to learn of the arbitrary reduction. They asserted that the full extraordinary and emergency amount requested was indeed necessary, and that downturn of the anticipated aliyah had no direct bearing upon the request. Mr. Grodzinsky, writing in the Davar, termed it a "sad development to witness a cut of almost 35% of the original request."<sup>170</sup> In Hapoel Hatzair, Mr. Yavnieli blamed his own party in the Knesset for failing to recognize the emergency need, and for not asserting its position in the Finance Committee sessions. He stated that persons in authority (whom he



did not name) had lacked the vision and understanding of the tremendous and vital task of educating the new immigrants in the current aliyah. He pointed to the "niggardly 8% of the Ministry of Education and Culture total budget" which was applied to hanhalat ha-lashon. Mr. Yavnieli wrote in his editorial:<sup>171</sup>

We have learned from past experience that unless we provide sufficient funds to give educational opportunities to recent olim and those of the last few years, the land will be saddled with a massive illiterate citizenry on the one hand, and a society bereft of our language and culture on the other hand... Dissipated indeed will be our spiritual potential which motivates the will and determination for national life, for love of country and people, and for loyalty to the ideals of our destiny...

We are fooled by an optical illusion into believing that because of our effective schools, and even because of the basic language education in Zahal, our hanhalat ha-lashon needs will be solved within a few years.

He predicted that for at least twenty-five years to come, the Government will have to be concerned with language and culture education for new immigrants, because Israel shall remain the homeland where the exiles will be ingathered. Mr. Yavnieli called for complete government responsibility to meet the language education needs. He went so far as to point to the eventual elimination of deficit financing by the Jewish Agency. He recommended a new approach to the language teaching problem and suggested that a separate government agency or ministry be established to deal with the various needs of the new immigrants, particularly the need for the Hebrew language, Israeli culture and civics. Such a step, he said, would give stature and significance to hanhalat ha-lashon activities as a major program of the government--a program receiving ample funds to perform the duties incumbent upon it.



The idea of establishing a separate government agency or department to handle all matters of hanhalat ha-lashon was bound up with the opinion held by certain individuals that there should be a state law requiring all new immigrants to study the Hebrew language, similar to the law of elementary education. It will be recalled that, in the early years of the Department for Language Teaching, Mr. Nahum Levin strongly advocated such a law.

In September of 1957, Dr. Shlomo Kodesh was appointed Director of the Department for Language Teaching by Mr. Zalman Aranne, the Minister of Education and Culture. Dr. Kodesh succeeded Mr. Joseph Shaked, who had served as the Director of the Department for the period from 1953 to 1957. In a statement published in the January, 1958, issue of the official Ministry bulletin, Dr. Kodesh said that "a law of the land establishing Hebrew as a required language to be taught to everyone would be received with joy by the substantial majority of law-makers as a basic law in Israel." Such a law, he felt, would initially place a great hardship upon the finance disbursing agencies, but ultimately "would be a blessing, since it would assure the elimination of illiteracy and more positively would create a knowledgeable and educated society."<sup>172</sup>

Upon assuming his new office, Dr. Kodesh sent a memorandum to Minister Aranne explaining that "to do a proper job" his Department would require a budget of 1,250,000 lirat for the 1958/59 fiscal year. This amount was to cover the costs of previous commitments made by the Department for increased salaries, for contracted texts and visual aids, and for the maintaining of existing ulpanim and



the opening of new ones.<sup>173</sup>

Dr. Katznelbogen, Associate Director-General of the Ministry, advised Dr. Kodesh on October 17 that the Ministry requested a revised budget not to exceed 833,000 lirot, or two-thirds of the original one submitted.<sup>174</sup> In addition to this amount, he authorized the expenditure of 9,000 lirot to cover the cost of travelling expenses for volunteer professional teachers who would give on-the-job guidance to non-licensed teachers engaged in teaching at the maabarot, immigrant settlements and border settlements.

Furthermore, the Ministry redefined the scope of operation of the Department. Dr. Katznelbogen stated that in view of the additional responsibilities to be undertaken by the Department, such as the Mador ha-hasbarah (The Information Division, heretofore handled independently), the full and final budget for the Department would be 900,000 lirot. In the main, the Department was to operate in the following areas, and pay their costs:<sup>175</sup> 1) hanhalat ha-lashon classes, including ulpaniot; 2) operation of ulpanim jointly with the Jewish Agency and other bodies; 3) conducting the Hebrew Correspondence Ulpan jointly with the Histadrut Culture Centre; 4) basic education classes for adult immigrants and watikin; 5) teacher seminars and workshops; 6) producing and distributing of language teaching aids, texts, audio-visual equipment and the vowelised newspaper; 7) publication of a teachers' manual; 8) operation of the Mador ha-hasbarah; 9) teachers' traveling expenses; and 10) unspecified projects.

In acknowledging the directive to operate his program on a budget of 900,000 lirot, Dr. Kodesh stated:<sup>176</sup>



I do not see the justification in imposing the weight of the Ministry's overall budget reduction upon the Department for Language Teaching. I am therefore reserving the right to reapply at the proper time for supplementary allocations to meet the needs of the State in the area of hanhalat ha-lashon, particularly during the coming year of increased immigration and the tenth anniversary of Medinat Yisrael.

The Be-ulpanim publication recorded the largest number of intensive ulpanim, evening ulpanim and ulpane-avodah for the year 1957: nine, twenty, and thirty, respectively.<sup>177</sup> The qualifications for admission to each of the three types of ulpanim were as follows:

1. Intensive ulpanim—30 hours per week instruction, 4-5 month term.

a. Students with professional background and a minimum of high school education, for whom the knowledge of Hebrew was essential for employment.

b. Students under 30 years of age were not admitted unless they possessed special ability or aptitude. Admitted regardless of age were newspaper people, lawyers, teachers, actors, certified accountants and economists.

Qualifying students were eligible to apply for loans.

2. Ulpane-avoda—24 hours per week instruction, 6 month mahzor.

Students between the ages of 18 and 32 with a minimum of 8 years elementary education were eligible. Tuition, room and board were drawn from the wages the students earned during their daily work hours.

3. Evening ulpanim—12 to 16 hours per week instruction, 4 month term.

Students between the ages of 18 and 60 with a minimum of 8 years elementary education were eligible. Tuition fees were in accordance with the number of hours of instruction per week. Scholarships, reduced rates and special allowances were given depending upon need.



TABLE XXIX. ULPANIM IN DECEMBER, 1957.<sup>178</sup>

A. INTENSIVE ULPANIM

<u>NAME OF ULPAN</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>MAHZOR</u>	<u>NEXT MAHZOR</u>
Etzion	Jerusalem	18	July 1, 1958
Metzkin	Haifa	16	April 20, 1958
Aliba	Netanya	14	Feb. 1, 1958
Borokhov	Givatayim	5	Jan. 7, 1958
Mazada	Beersheba	3	Feb. 9, 1958
Hersl	Petah Tikvah	3	March 5, 1958
Ben Yehuda	Netanya	3	Jan. 7, 1958
Bamoshav	Bet Yehoshua	2	March 9, 1958
Moir	Tel Aviv	7	Jan. 1, 1958

B. ULPANE-AVODA (Work ulpanim in kibbutzim)

En ha-shofet	12	Feb. 2, 1958
Mizra	12	Dec. 2, 1957
Maayan Zvi	11	Sept. 1, 1957
Galil Yam	11	May 16, 1958
Sedot Yam	6	Feb. 3, 1958
Barur Hayal*	6	<u>1</u>
Debrat	4	March 2, 1958
Bet ha-shita	3	Feb. 2, 1958
Gesher	3	Sept. 15, 1957
Gevat	3	March 18, 1958
Ha-goshrim	3	Feb. 16, 1958
Ha-zorea	3	Oct. 1, 1957
Negba	3	March 16, 1958
Hazor	2	Sept. 1, 1957
Yad Mordekhai	2	March 18, 1958
Lahavot ha-bashan	2	Dec. 22, 1957
Magon Mikhael	2	Feb. 16, 1958
Mefalsin	2	Sept. 22, 1957
Maayan Barukh	2	Dec. 15, 1957
Amiad	2	Sept. 15, 1957
En Tzurim	2	March 2, 1958
Ramat ha-shofet	2	Sept. 1, 1957
Ravadim	2	Jan. 23, 1958
Tel Yosef	2	Dec. 2, 1957
Gan Shmuel	2	Oct. 17, 1957
Gezer*	1	
Givat ha-shlosha*	1	
Givat Brenner	1	Nov. 15, 1957
Netzer Sirni	1	Oct. 20, 1957
Shamir	1	Sept. 3, 1957

\* These kibbutzim contemplated consolidating their work-ulpanim with those of neighboring kibbutzim, or they found the ulpan not workable. Therefore the date for the next mahzor was not given.



TABLE XXIX. ULPANIM IN DECEMBER, 1957. (Continued)

C. EVENING ULPANIM

<u>NAME OF ULPAN</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>MAHZOR</u>
Meir	Tel Aviv	18
Borokhov	Givatayim	18
Mazada	Beersheba	4

Other evening ulpanim were held at Ashkelon, Ramleh, Bat Yam, Kiryat Gat, Bet Shemesh, Kiryat Shmoneh, Kiryat Haim, Afula, Kiryat Binyamin, Haifa, Tiberias, Hedera, Holon, Herzliya, Jerusalem, Ramat Aviv and Eilat.

It should be noted that in addition to the three types of ulpanim listed in the table above, there were hundreds of ulpaniot across the land offering language education at fewer hours per week.



Chapter XIII.

THE PROGRAM OF HANHALAT HA-LASHON IN 1958-1959

The entire year 1958 was designated by the Government of Israel as Hag he-asor, the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel. Tourists came in large numbers. According to the official statistics issued by the Government Tourist Corporation, 75,518 persons visited Israel during the year, as against 44,562 in 1957.<sup>179</sup>

Although the immigrant aliyah in 1958 was smaller than in 1957, the demand for admission to ulpanim and evening language classes remained great from the current aliyah and the backlog of previous aliyot. For the first time, a large number of tourists, temporary residents and Jewish and non-Jewish students from abroad sought admission to the intensive ulpanim in Jerusalem, Givatayim, Tel Aviv, Netanya and Bat Galim.

The demand for classes was greater than their availability. The one factor which would have permitted an ample supply of language teaching institutions was lacking. Sufficient budgets to meet the emerging demands of hanhalat ha-lashon were not available to the Department for Language Teaching, nor were the local authorities open-handed in granting their share of the cost and maintenance of the ulpanim and ulpaniot.

On January 16, 1958, Dr. Kodosh wrote an urgent letter to the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr. Aranne. In it, he explained the difficult experience he was going through by not having sufficient



funds to operate the programming of his department. He asked for Aranne's authorization to utilize the unused funds from the 1957 budget. He reported that many of the local authorities who had assumed a partnership in financing the ulpanim and ulpaniot in their cities and towns were slow in submitting reports and advancing their share of the cost and, in some cases, were reneging on the entire or part of their contractual arrangement. Dr. Kodesh also stated that the Jewish Agency, which had promised to make a grant of 100,000 lirot for ulpanim and evening classes in immigrant settlements, had given only half that amount.<sup>180</sup>

Dr. Kodesh asked for a portion of the 1957 unused funds in order to meet the commitments of the previously approved budget, and to launch a mass program for the teaching of the Hebrew language. This mass program had already been agreed upon by the Ministry, and Mr. Aranne had given permission to open 100 new classes in new settlements and development areas. Dr. Kodesh had been given the "go-signal" to engage staff, to arrange for classrooms, to organize a volunteer corps of teachers and to authorize the preparation of teaching material and manuals. But without the necessary funds, he was unable to administer the program.

On February 18, 1958, Dr. Kodesh again wrote to the Ministry about the matter of the unused funds. This time, he directed his communication to Mr. J. Benor, assistant to the Director-General of the Ministry. An interesting aspect of the financial responsibility for han-halat ha-lashon came to light in this letter. We read that originally the government had assumed the full responsibility when it was formed.



in 1948, but when the pressure of the mass ingathering was released it began to delegate such financial responsibility to the local authorities, to municipalities and to public and private bodies. Dr. Kodesh wrote:<sup>181</sup>

There is no law or statute authorizing this transfer of responsibility for the full cost of financing of language teaching, nor is there any legislation which imposes upon the local authorities the duty to maintain hanhalat ha-lashon activities.

Because of this confusing situation, the local authorities often acted on their own. They interviewed and engaged unqualified staff and even disregarded accepted standards. Dr. Kodesh attributed this situation to the Department's limited budget to appoint supervisors and district organizers.

On February 24, another letter from Dr. Kodesh to Mr. Aranne explained the reasons for the surplus funds from the 1957 budget. They were: 1) the sudden shrinking of the aliyah in the summer of 1957, which forced the closing of two intensive ulpanim; 2) the extreme economy in expending funds in the first half of 1957, by closing classes during the spring and summer and by delaying the opening of classes until after the holidays; and 3) the influenza epidemic in September and October of 1957, deferring the opening of the ulpanim, ulpaniot and other classes for a full month. Dr. Kodesh requested that Mr. Aranne intercede personally with the Minister of Finance, Mr. Levi Eshkol, so that the unused funds from the 1957/58 fiscal year, amounting to 70,000 lirot, could be put to "extremely useful and absolutely necessary" purposes in the current year. He enumerated these purposes as follows: 1) 27,000 lirot for printing 3000 copies



of illustrated colored wall charts on fifteen subjects; 2) 15,000 lirot for completing a series of ten films and twenty filmstrips, begun several years earlier with an investment of 8500 lirot; 3) 8,000 lirot for recordings, begun in 1955 at an investment of 5,000 lirot; 4) 5,000 lirot for an educational exhibit on the history and pedagogic development of hanhalat ha-lashon; and 5) 15,000 lirot for the publication of 10,000 teachers' kits, to be given to volunteer teachers in the mitza le-hisul ha-baarut.<sup>182</sup>

In connection with the need to stamp out illiteracy in the land, Dr. Kodesh added that the Ministry's decision of December, 1957, not to be involved in this undertaking, had merely deferred the solution; that the problem was continually worsening and becoming more widespread. He said that official government and reliable private estimates placed the percentage of illiterates among the adult immigrants at 30%, "a figure too staggering to allow us to stand aloof and not attempt to correct it."

This direct and forthright baring of all the facts by Dr. Kodesh elicited a positive response from the Ministry of Education and Culture. On April 14, 1958, Dr. Katznelbogen, deputy to the Minister, addressed a letter to Mr. Sh. Torokover of the Treasury, explaining the pressing needs of hanhalat ha-lashon and asking for approval to draw on the unused 70,000 lirot from the 1957 budget of the Department for Language Teaching.<sup>183</sup>

Nevertheless, the request was not granted. On May 20, another communication was sent to the Treasury.<sup>184</sup>

...Recalling that the 70,000 lirot was not authorized, we



again press for action on your part...The Department for Language Teaching, and the Information Service which is now in the Department, are duty-bound to expand their activities in the shenat he-asor. We cannot be a party to denying their requests, nor to freezing their current budgets...The method by which you allocate funds, i.e., ratio of aliyah to budget, is not justified and we cannot agree with it.

Mr. Torokover replied on July 1, 1958, stating that the Treasury's decision to withhold the 70,000 lirot of the 1957 unused funds must stand, and that the formula of aliyah to budget ratio was sound and would be followed by the Treasury. He reminded Dr. Katznelbogen that on previous occasions the Treasury had granted supplementary allocations to the Department and that the Information Service had received a substantial increase in its budget. He suggested that these facts be borne in mind when conveying the Treasury's decision to the Department.<sup>185</sup>

Dr. Kodesh expressed disappointment over the Treasury's refusal to permit the use of the 1957 unused funds, and its "ignoring of the need to eradicate the mass illiteracy in the land." He said:<sup>186</sup>

It is a shocking fact that little is being done for the tens of thousands of our adults who, because of their lack of knowledge of the Hebrew language, are removed from being a vital limb in the emerging people in Israel...We, the People of the Book, are resigned to permitting such a high percentage of illiteracy (30%). There are 276,000 female adult immigrants who cannot read, write or speak Hebrew. Are they not entitled to receive language and culture education?...If the Treasury will not agree to carry out its obligation to the people, then our hands will be clean of responsibility...

On September 4, 1958, Dr. Kodesh replied to a request by the Ministry to spell out the purposes and areas of responsibility of the Department of Language Teaching. These were:<sup>187</sup>

1. In hanhalat ha-lashon, the purpose is to provide classes in every location, taught by competent teachers under good learning conditions, proper standards and curricula supervision; to



provide these classes with good textual material, efficient organization and adequate financial support--with budgets not subject to cuts and withdrawal of funds.

2. The function of the Department is to teach basic language and culture education to all citizens of Israel who require it--to new immigrants and watikin. In this function we stand alone since the Jewish Agency, through its Department of Absorption, is committed primarily to educate new immigrants for absorption and integration... The Department is responsible to provide educational opportunities in the ulpanim, but more importantly in the ulpaniot and basic education classes for the tens of thousands of recent arrivals and older residents... These are the people who need it.

The total enrollment in all hanhalat ha-lashon institutions in the year 1958/59 was 35,000 students. This number included 8,000 persons studying in ulpanim, in ulpane-avoda and in evening ulpanim. By the end of March, 1959, there were 1200 classes, two-thirds of which were located in the cities and older moshavot and the remaining third in immigrant absorption centers.<sup>188</sup>

Classes existed in fewer than 300 settlements. There remained hundreds of settlements with no provision for adult language classes. The primary obstacle was lack of government funds and cost-sharing by the local authorities.

This year witnessed the largest enrollment of students from the Anglo-Saxon countries since the founding of the ulpanim in 1949. This enrollment reached 50% of the 2124 students in the intensive ulpanim. The other 50% consisted of students coming mainly from Poland, Hungary, Egypt and Rumania.<sup>189</sup>

The Shenaton ha-memshala for 1958/59 reported that among the most serious problems faced by the language teaching authorities was the inavailability of an adequate and competent teaching force for adults. Notwithstanding the efforts made to improve the teaching



methods and the offering of teacher-training courses, closer classroom supervision and a visiting-teacher corps, the problem remained grave.

Another problem was the integration and cultural absorption of the new immigrants who came from many countries and various social backgrounds. Although this problem had existed during all the years since the return of the Jewish people to Eretz Yisrael, the fact that substantial stress was given it in 1958 indicates that: 1) the problem will remain for as long as Israel is an ingathering center; and 2) that the proper techniques have not yet been devised to cope with it.

The Shenaton listed the following areas which presented a challenge for finding a solution: 1) the integration of new immigrants; 2) an adequate supply of competent language teachers and the organization of in-service seminars for teacher-training; 3) the eradication of illiteracy; 4) the provision of basic education to all adults who require it -- immigrants and watikin; 5) projects and programs for language acquisition and enrichment; and 6) the development of new teaching devices, better textual material and a suitable curriculum for illiterate beginners.

Notwithstanding these problems, the Shenaton reported that in the ten years since the establishment of the State of Israel, the Hebrew language had become more deeply entrenched in the land, both for adults and children. The Israeli Army, through its education program, was credited for contributing immeasurably to this achievement.<sup>190</sup>

The Department for Language Teaching conducted regional seminars



for teacher training in cooperation with the Hebrew University and the Agaf ha-ulpanim of the Jewish Agency. During the year, an experiment was carried out whereby morei-am (teachers of the people) were assigned to districts in the north and south to teach adults. Every teacher would handle three settlements in his area. There he would organize the adults and establish classes for them at their convenience. In connection with this undertaking, Dr. Kodesh explained that this project was undertaken jointly with the Moshavim Council to engage thirty students from the Hebrew University to settle for the duration of their assignments of one year in the moshavim selected, and handle under supervision all of the language and cultural activities. In the morning hours they would teach small classes, or even individual illiterate women, and in the afternoon and evening hours they would teach the regular hanhalat ha-lashon and basic education classes for men and women.

In addition to the thirty volunteer students who were finally assigned--not for a year, but for a two-month period--five professional teachers were engaged to fill seven positions in eighteen settlements situated in the vicinity of Jerusalem. Cooperating in this project were the Hadassah Women's Organization, the Labor Ministry and the Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency.<sup>191</sup>

The Ministry of Education and Culture submitted to the Third Knesset a proposed educational budget of 91,750,000 lirot for the 1959/60 fiscal year. The amount requested for hanhalat ha-lashon for this period was 1,009,900 lirot, or 1.1% of the total. The actual total budget for the year 1958/59 was 77,452,000 lirot, of



which the Department for Language Teaching received 991,000 lirot, or 1.2%.<sup>192</sup>

TABLE XXX. ACTUAL 1958/59 BUDGET AND PROPOSED 1959/60 BUDGET FOR THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING. (1930)

	1958/59	1959/60
Total Budget	991,000 L. I.	1,009,900 L. I.
<u>Administration</u>		
Salaries, etc. (total)	61,000	71,900
Employees	(13)	(14)
5 supervisors      31,500 )		
9 clerks          34,500 )	58,100	66,000
Salary increments	—	2,400
Scholarships and grants	130	100
National insurance and <u>kupat holim</u>	2,770	3,400
<u>Activities</u> (total)	930,000	938,000
Hanhalat ha-lashon classes and ulpanim*	286,700	308,000
Ulpanim jointly with Jewish Agency and others	423,900	410,000
Tuition from above	-44,000	-36,000
Correspondence ulpan*	2,000	1,000
Basic education for adults*	33,300	35,100
Study circles*	15,000	12,000
Travel for morei-am*	5,000	7,500
Culture and art in maabarot and immigrant settlements	30,000	30,000
Culture in settlements, jointly with moshavim	55,000	55,000
Aiding cultural absorption*	34,000	30,000
Furnishing and maintenance of culture house and study centers	15,000	15,000
Texts and vowelised reading material	38,000	51,000
Income from <u>Le-mathil</u>	-20,000	-23,000
Audio-visual teaching aids	15,100	21,000
Teachers' manual	2,000	4,000
Organization and information	4,000	5,000
Volunteer teachers program	10,000	12,000
Miscellaneous	25,000	—

\* In cooperation with other agencies.

The following two tables present a more detailed break-down of the expenditures for ulpanim and hanhalat ha-lashon classes.



TABLE XXXI. CLASSES AND ULPANIM JOINTLY SUPPORTED, WITH SHARE OF COST BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE. (194)

<u>Type of Institution</u>	<u>No./Classes</u>	<u>Hrs.Inst./Wk.</u>	<u>No./Teachers</u>	<u>Teachers' Salaries</u>
Work ulpanim	18	432	15	49,248 L.I.
Ulpaniot for olim in kibbutzim	30	120	4	12,960
Ulpanim and ulpaniot in local authorities and public organiza- tions	260	1560	52	177,840
Ulpanim and ulpaniot in Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv	270	1620	54	184,680
Ulpanim and ulpaniot under auspices of Histadrut Centre for Culture & Education	100	600	20	68,400
Ulpanim and ulpaniot under the auspices of workers' councils of Tel Aviv and Haifa and environs of Haifa	80	599	20	68,271
Organizers employed by local authorities and public organizations			20	67,200
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>758</b>	<b>4,931</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>628,599 L.I.</b>

The Ministry's share of the total cost for teachers' salaries was 308,000 L.I., or 49%.



TABLE XXXII. ULPANIM SUPPORTED BY THE DEPARTMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING, 1959/60 (Proposed). (195)

<u>Type of Institution</u>	<u>Classes</u>	<u>Hrs./Wk.</u>	<u>No./Teachers</u>	<u>No./Students</u>	<u>Teachers' Salaries</u>
<u>Ulpanim (30 hrs./wk.)</u>					
Etzion, Jerusalem	10	300	11	550	46,200 L.I.
Motzkin, Haifa	8	240	9	450	37,800
Borokhov, Givatayim	6	180	6	275	25,200
Meir, Tel Aviv	5	155	5½	240	23,100
Mazada, Beersheba	5	150	5	200	19,200
Akiba, Netanya	4	120	4½	200	18,360
<u>Evening Ulpaniot</u> (12-16 hrs./wk.)	17	238	8	720	28,560
Ulpaniot in Immigrant Settlements	187	900	30	6000	97,200
Reshit-da'at ulpaniot for illiterates	92	550	18	2200	59,320
Roving teachers and supervisors			7		28,000
Study-month for Hebrew improvement and specialization*	14	8	1½	280	5,000
Morei-am	36	210	6	750	22,500
TOTAL	384	3051	111½	11,865	410,440 L.I.

\* The study-month was designed for ulpan graduates who required additional education in order to guarantee their continued employment. Among the students were office clerks, teachers and professionals who availed themselves of this program during their summer vacations for the purpose of improving their Hebrew language skills. The study was limited to one-month periods in the spring and summer.



On February 10, 1959, Dr. Kodesh submitted a plan to the Ministry of Education and Culture in which he suggested ways to solve the language problem of the new aliyah which was composed largely of professionals. He stated that, in order to achieve the speedy absorption of the olim, language education on an intensive basis must not be delayed. The limited experience of the absorption agencies in providing language education to the prospective oleh before he boards the plane or boat to Israel had proven conclusively that their efforts had met with success. Dr. Kodesh said:<sup>196</sup>

We must utilize the weeks and months of enthusiastic waiting for the day of embarkation to teach the language arts, and from the moment he (the oleh) disembarks in Israel a month's intensive study of Hebrew should be given to every head of a family, for six hours per day and two hours of guidance.

He recommended that the current five-month intensive ulpanim should be reduced to four-month periods, and that only intellectuals with professional backgrounds and a basic knowledge of Hebrew should be admitted in the second mahzor (intermediate classes). For the popular aliyah, the existing ulpaniot and evening classes were to be continued at a tempo commensurate with the needs. As far as the writer could ascertain, no action was taken on Dr. Kodesh's proposal.

In April and May of 1959, the number of new arrivals fell off sharply and Dr. Kodesh was notified by the Ministry that the budget for his Department would be 823,000 lirot instead of the originally proposed 1,009,900 lirot.<sup>197</sup> Dr. Kodesh reacted strongly to this "unheard-of budget cut:"

It is distressing to learn of the negative attitude toward hanhalat ha-lashon as it is continually evidenced by the actions of the Treasury and also by the Ministry's acquiescence. It is a fact that two years ago the general



budget of the Ministry was increased by approximately 23% and the Department's budget was increased by less than 2%. This year, the Ministry's budget enjoyed an increase of approximately 18% while ours had a shocking increase of 1.2%. How can this be justified in the light of the continued pronouncements by the Minister (of Education and Culture) that hanhalat ha-lashon is a primary objective and a forthright challenge of the Government of Israel? (198)

On September 27, 1959, Dr. Kodesh wrote to Minister Aranne, after being notified that the 823,000 lirot budget, approved on May 29 and reduced to 800,000 lirot, would be further reduced to 720,000 lirot. The cut was to be made in the following categories: 35,000 lirot less for hanhalat ha-lashon classes and 45,000 lirot less for intensive ulpanim. A change in the volume and tempo of the aliyah was given as the reason for this 80,000 lirot cut. Dr. Kodesh's letter was particularly vehement against the "arbitrary decisions by the Treasury Department." He said:

I do not remember anyone from the Treasury coming to inquire about the situation in our program of hanhalat ha-lashon, nor have there been any inquiries in writing regarding the scope and the problems of our Department. How, then, can the Treasury assess the needs? How, then, can it issue a directive—"Cut! Cut again the budget"?

Dr. Kodesh called the Minister's attention to the fact that hanhalat ha-lashon programming does not begin on the day of arrival of an aliyah ship or plane, and it does not end when the newspapers announce that the volume of the aliyah has fallen off. The months of heaviest immigration are the most opportune months to increase enrollment. The Department exploits these demands for learning to the maximum of its capacity, Dr. Kodesh stated, and just when the moment is ripe for continued and solid learning, a thundersome budget cut is announced "and we have to freeze our operation, nay, close many classes, even



entire ulpanim."<sup>199</sup>

Another problem came to light in Dr. Kodesh's communication, that is, the area of responsibility and authority in hanhalat ha-lashon between the government's Department for Language Teaching and the Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency. It appeared that the Treasury heeded the advice of the Jewish Agency when making decisions on allocating funds for adult language teaching. As a result, its interpretation of language teaching needs were in relation to any mass aliyah, and when the aliyah subsided a reduction was announced. This policy was in total variance with the policy pursued by the Department for Language Teaching, which asserted that language teaching for adults is a continuous process which cannot be interrupted by a reduction in immigration. Dr. Kodesh inquired of the Minister:<sup>200</sup>

...Actually, what is the function of the Department for Language Teaching, and to whom is it responsible? I understood that it is not a division of the Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency, but a government department responsible to teach the Hebrew language to tens of thousands of citizens and to provide them with abundant opportunities to learn the basic culture for Israeli citizenship...Yet, the Treasury men think differently, and are acting vigorously, without investigation or inquiries, in pursuance of their ideas. I feel that the time is long overdue to clarify and resolve the matter in order to avoid mistakes and disappointments.

Dr. Kodesh concluded his letter by stating that the drastic cut in the budget would make it impossible to meet commitments for teachers' salaries, and agreements for shared costs with local authorities. "Besides," he said, "it is humiliating." Copies of this letter were sent to Dr. Moshe Avidor, Mr. Y. Sarid, Dr. A. Bar Tanna, and Dr. A. Katznelbogen.

On December 16, 1959, a special meeting was convened in the Bet



ha-Poalim, Jerusalem. The writer was invited to attend this meeting by Dr. Kodesh. Dr. Bar Tanna, Deputy Director-General of the Ministry of Education and Culture, presented an address on "Peulot ha-mahlaka la-shanim ha-baot" (Activities of the Department in the Coming Years) in which he emphasized the need to "live by the budget allocated." He explained that a number of categories have to economize and restrict their activities. The meeting was attended by all the district supervisors of the Department and by its director, Dr. Shlomo Kodesh. Obviously, Dr. Bar Tanna's presence gave official stamp to the finality of the current budget. He did state, however, that an extraordinary allocation of 25,000 lirot would be forthcoming for the early months of 1960, the bulk of which was to go for classes in basic education. He further indicated that special attention was being given by the Minister to the establishment of zone-schools in Ashdod, in the Galilee and in the Central area (Jerusalem region) for the training of teachers for adults.

A week-long seminar was held in Bet Poale ha-Histadrut in Tel Aviv, under the auspices of the Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency. Mrs. Paula Apenshlak, Director of the Agaf ha-ulpanim, submitted her report on May 6, 1959, in which she presented the following tables on the composition of the ulpanim as well as her personal assessment of the Agaf's experience with the various kinds of ulpanim. She said that when students complete their full courses they find employment and become settled in their communities. Ninety percent of the graduates obtain work in their professions. Two outstanding graduates who received their Hebrew language education in ulpanim, and



are now contributing to the cultural life in Israel are Ephraim Kishon, popular humorist, newspaperman and author, and Zigmund Terkov, noted announcer for Kol Yisrael. Mrs. Apenshlak stated that in the work-ulpanim, because of the nature of their locations, professional young men and women, especially from English-speaking countries, found the experience exciting and profitable. Students remaining for the complete course have shown endurance and persistence in learning the language and in many ways have exhibited an awareness and a keen sense of understanding of their new environment. Mrs. Apenshlak concluded:<sup>201</sup>

We have been active in the ulpanim for over ten years, and only now are we beginning to assess their progress... With such information we can proceed to develop new types of absorption-language centers, such as the ulpan for elderly folks and the ulpan for entire families, the first of which we opened recently in Degania Bet.

TABLE XXXIII. OPERATION OF AGAF HA-ULPANIM, SEPTEMBER 1, 1949 TO MAY 1, 1959. (202)

YEAR	DORMITORY ULPANIM	STUDENTS	NO DORM ULPANIM	STUDENTS	WORK ULPANIM	STUDENTS	TOTAL ULPANIM	TOTAL STUDENTS
1949	1	60	—	—	—	—	1	60
1950	2	450	2 (Special Ulpanim)	189	(46) 23	(210) 304	11	1153
1951	3	612	3	510	6	315	12	1437
1952	3	780	3	614	8	397	14	1791
1953	3	1014	3	1048	9	984	15	3046
1954	3	1136	4	997	9	489	16	2622
1955	3	1338	4	955	9	840	16	3133
1956	4	1024	5	855	10	738	19	2617
1957	7	2535	23	4050	30	2124	60	8709
1958	7	2124	16	2118	25	1631	48	5873
1959 (May 1)	6	846	14	747	28	487	48	2080
TOTAL	41	11,919	77	12,083	138	8,215	260	32,521



TABLE XXXIV. DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX, EDUCATION AND PROFESSION, SEPT. 1, 1949 -- MAY 1, 1959. (203)

<u>AGE</u>	<u>NO. OF STUDENTS</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>			
18-25	9756	30			
25-33	9431	29			
35-60	12357	38			
60 and over	975	3			
<u>SEX</u>					
Male	17,454	53.7			
Female	15,067	46.3			
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
High School	16,910	52			
University	11,707	36			
Elementary	3,902	12			
<u>PROFESSIONS</u>					
Bookkeepers	6,294	Artists	324	Social Workers	350
Clerks	7,979	Scientists	220	Doctors	388
Teachers	2,708	Nurses	692	Diplomats	45
Lawyers	1,082	Economists	368	Writers	69
Agriculturists	123	Pharmacists	224	Engineers	224
Newspaper	443	Students	2177	Others	8387

Tables XXXIII and XXXIV present an accurate analysis of the student numbers and composition in the intensive ulpanim during the first ten years of their existence. It will be noted that the peak enrollment occurred in 1957, with a total of 8709 students. This was a year of large immigration from Hungary, until such immigration was halted by Russia as a result of Arab pressures. It was also a time when large numbers of tourists and temporary residents, especially from the Anglo-Saxon countries, enrolled in the ulpanim for intensive study of the Hebrew language. The same year witnessed the serious exchanges between the Department for Language Teaching and the Ministry of Education and Culture regarding the provision of adequate financial assistance for the program. It is highly probable that the ulpanim could have en-



rolled additional thousands of students were it not for the continual cutting of budgets.

At first inspection it would appear that the largest percentage of students were in the 35-60 age bracket. It must be observed, however, that this bracket covers a 25-year age span, whereas the first two brackets (namely, 18-25 and 25-33) cover only a 15-year span, and comprise 59% of the total enrollment. Nevertheless, the appreciable figure of 41% for students aged 35 and over attests to the appeal that the ulpan has had for the more mature citizens. It can be assumed that the intensive study of the Hebrew language by these students fulfilled personal needs in their economic, civic or cultural adjustment.

The enrollment was fairly equally divided between men and women, 88% of whom were either high school or university graduates. Among the professional categories, the bookkeepers and clerks were in greatest numbers, comprising almost 44% of the total enrollment.



Chapter XIV.

MITZA HISUL HA-BAARUT

On October 21, 1958, Dr. Kodesh received approval from Mr. Aranne to use 35,000 lirot for a Mitza Hisul ha-Baarut (Operation to Stamp Out Illiteracy). Mrs. Apenshlak of the Agaf ha-Ulpanim was requested to match this amount, and 30,000 lirot were transferred from the ulpanim to be made available for the Mitza.

Mr. Aranne announced the opening of the operation for November, 1958. It was to continue for six months. In an article issued in April, he had stated:<sup>204</sup>

For the tenth anniversary year, the Ministry will recommend to all public organizations in the State to organize, from among their memberships, volunteers for hanhalat ha-lashon and hisul ha-baarut. Every volunteer will obligate himself to teach at least one citizen the skills of reading and writing Hebrew. The Ministry of Education will provide every volunteer with a kit containing a training manual of twenty to twenty-five lessons, which shall serve him as the learning equipment enabling him to teach his adult student to read and write.

The announcement concerning the nation-wide operation to stamp out illiteracy in the State brought general approval and an enthusiastic response from many sectors of the land. The newspapers picked up the call and published editorials and detailed announcements urging the people to volunteer. A special circular was issued by the Department and was mailed to all professionals, illustrating in graphic form the widespread distribution of illiteracy, and exhorting them to "shoulder this momentous responsibility."

Mr. Yehuda Isenstark, writing in the Ha-aretz daily, stated that the enormous proportion of adult illiterates, chiefly among the



olim from Morocco, Algeria and Persia, constitutes a new phenomenon in Israel and, because of its numbers, poses a threat to the economic and social life of the State. He was shocked to witness large numbers of adult laborers who were unable to sign their names upon receiving their pay checks in industrial plants at Ramle, Holon and Haifa. Instead, these men affixed their thumb print to the checks.<sup>205</sup>

Mr. Menahem Adir, a member of the Culture Centre of the Histadrut, analyzed the appalling situation of illiteracy among the labor force. He presented the following figures: 15% of the adult workers had no schooling whatsoever in their childhood; 28% did not complete the primary grades, among them 8% Israeli-born. The labor force in 1958 was approximately 375,000 adults. Mr. Adir stated:<sup>206</sup>

These persons have been sentenced to a life of total illiteracy, a state of deafness and muteness as regards the Hebrew language...We need a mass effort to interpret and encourage them to study in their homes and in their places of work.

He called upon the workers' culture committees to join in the nationwide program to "erase all vestiges of illiteracy," and to participate in the all-out effort to devise new methods and techniques to make the learning process appealing and effective.

In another article, Mr. Y. L. Grodzinsky recalled the nation-wide mivtas of 1955/56 and expressed the hope that the current project would not fall short of the accomplishments of that year. He observed that the Government should give priority to the requests for funds to implement the program. He called upon the Histadrut to mobilize men and women from all ranks and to impress upon them, in the name of the fundamental goals of Labor in Israel, to become personally involved in



teaching their fellow workers the rudiments of the Hebrew language. He appealed to the younger workers, particularly, because the young "could make up in understanding and sensitivity what they lack in training and professional experience."<sup>207</sup>

The writer accompanied Dr. Shlomo Kodesh to a meeting of the Ha-noar ha-oved in the Youth Center, Jerusalem, on September 14, 1959. This was part of the national effort to recruit teen-agers as volunteers to teach illiterates. Dr. Kodesh geared the appeal to the civic pride of the 16-and-17-year-olds. He promised to provide them with the necessary training and teaching supplies. He pointed out that the illiterate adult is shy, reserved, impatient and frequently lacks confidence in his ability to learn; and that the head of the family will object to his wife's taking lessons, lest he lose his status and position in the family unit. "By our approach," Dr. Kodesh stated, "we must demonstrate understanding and encouragement. Learning will follow. You will be carrying the torch of friendship and learning, both in one."

In the volunteer's kit was a manual outlining the course and giving detailed instructions on how to introduce reading and writing and how to proceed over the twenty-five lesson periods. A suggested vocabulary and idioms were included. The volunteers were given a schedule of training sessions for them.<sup>208</sup>

The 1959 Government Year Book reported that the volunteer operation to teach the language and to stamp out illiteracy in the land attracted 3,000 volunteers from among the citizenry, from all circles of the Yishuv, including men and women in army and police force. Over



10,000 learners availed themselves of this teaching, with the vast majority on the reshit-daat (basic education) level of instruction. The report stated that the volunteers went to the homes of the learners and succeeded in raising the cultural level of these people. In the first term the teaching methods were refined to meet the needs and, according to the Yarbook's appraisal, "the first semester proceeded successfully, with the view of its continued progress."<sup>209</sup>

On May 15, 1959, Dr. Kodesh sent an "extraordinary" appeal to the Minister of Education to intervene with the Minister of the Treasury not to abandon the illiteracy project which, he said, had succeeded even beyond the hopes of the most optimistic. Yet, having enjoyed success, the Ministry directed the cessation of the project. Dr. Kodesh wrote:<sup>210</sup>

This has been a good beginning...We know that the conditions for offering basic language education to large numbers of our citizens will continue for many years and the obligation to bridge the differences will remain ours...Furthermore, we have learned from experience that we shall have to rely upon volunteers for mass operations...It is therefore painful that this worthwhile project is about to be discontinued precisely at a time when it has demonstrated vitality in accomplishments and participation...

Dr. Kodesh placed the blame for the sudden abandonment of the Mivtza not upon the Ministry of Education and Culture but upon the Treasury "which has been consistently apathetic and, in this instance of the volunteer undertaking, has shown a strange and peculiar attitude." Actually, only 12,000 lirot were allocated to "gradually withdraw from the project."<sup>211</sup>

At an executive meeting of the Department for Language Teaching held on December 16, 1959, and attended by the writer (see pp. 311-312),



the hisul ha-baarut project was evaluated, eliciting the following reactions from those persons present at the meeting.

Although the volunteer teachers had succeeded in generating enthusiasm and friendliness--thus helping to reduce tension and resistance on the part of many adult learners--it was felt that the desired educational goals had not been achieved with the use of volunteers. The consensus was that even the most skilled volunteer is not always able to devote regular hours to his assignment, and that a teacher trained in educational psychology and methodology, and who is being paid for his services, is certain to obtain better results. It was therefore recommended that, in future programming, professional teachers should be employed wherever possible and whenever funds are available for this purpose.

It was suggested that during the months of April and May, when attendance is at its peak (so experience has proved), larger classes should be organized in regular classrooms, using professional teachers. During slack periods of attendance, small classes in private homes with volunteer teachers remain desirable. At all times, it was agreed that the total corps of hanhalat ha-lashon workers--teachers, organizers and supervisors--should be mobilized for active participation in the project.

The curriculum of the mivtza should include citizenship education and knowledge of the homeland in addition to the basic language skills.

The failure of the local authorities to provide their share of the cost of the program often created a problem. It was agreed that the mivtza should not be a "one-time" undertaking, but that it should become a sustained program requiring long-range planning and financing,



preferably by the central government agency--the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Department for Language Teaching should continue to give supervision and guidance to the local authorities in the operation of their individual hisul ha-baarut classes and home-study groups.



Chapter XV.

TEACHER EDUCATION AND THE PROFESSIONAL STATUS OF ADULT LANGUAGE TEACHERS

With the closing of the Bet Midrash le-Morei Am in 1953, after a four-year operation, neither the Ministry of Education and Culture nor the Hebrew University nor the Jewish Agency, cooperatively or independently, conducted a sustained formal school for teachers of adult language and culture classes. In 1957 a government school was opened in Beersheba to educate teachers for the immigrant settlements and kfarim. This school, the Midrasha mamlekhitit le-hinukh ba-negev, operated a combined program leading to teacher certification for elementary education as well as for adult language and culture education. Upon completion of a two-year course, the teachers were equipped to provide basic education to semi-literate and illiterate adult men and women, and to organize and guide informal culture and recreation centers in the settlements and villages.

The Midrasha at Beersheba was under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Labor and the Jewish Agency. The writer visited this school on January 16, 1960, at the invitation of Dr. Gideon Freudenberg. At the time of this visit, there were 33 students enrolled, classified as "immigrant students A" and "immigrant students B." The students in the A classification had to complete their training to qualify them as teachers, and had not yet held any positions. Students in the B classification had already completed their professional education in their countries of origin, but had to perfect their knowledge of Hebrew and Israeli civics before they could



They had already served as teachers from one-half year to as long as twenty-four years. The majority of teachers in this category had been teaching in development settlements, both in elementary and adult education. The Ministry of Education and Culture was making a special effort to enable these non-licensed teachers to complete their qualifications.

Of the 33 students in the Midrasha, 17 came from Rumania, 8 from Poland, 3 from Russia, 2 each from Argentina and Algeria, and 1 from Hungary. They had all attended schools of higher learning in their countries of origin.

Of the six hours of daily instruction, six days a week, four hours a day were devoted to pedagogy and the Hebrew language. The remaining time was distributed in the teaching of history, homeland, Tanakh, nature study, science, agriculture, physical education and singing. The students did their practice teaching in Ulpan Mazada in Beersheba.<sup>212</sup>

In addition to the Midrasha in Beersheba, two other Midrashot le-morei kfar were operated by the Ministry of Education and Culture. They were located in Kfar Nahalal and Givat George Washington. In the Ministry's budget proposal for 1959/60, the three midrashot were listed as having a combined enrollment of 157 students and employing five teachers. The specific budget for these schools was not given. It was included in the overall sum under the category of "teacher-education."<sup>213</sup>

Notwithstanding the fact that the partners in the operation of the Bet Midrash Le-morei Am closed the school in 1953 because the need presumably to supply specially trained teachers, no longer existed, due to reduced



immigration and other reasons (see page 226), the Department for Language Teaching continued to press for budgetary allowances to conduct in-service seminars and institutes for teacher education. Assistance in organization and financial cost of these educational efforts was given by the Centre for Popular Education of the Hebrew University and the Department for Language and Culture of the Histadrut.

Seminars of two-week or one-month duration were held during the summer months when most of the ulpanim and ulpaniot were closed. Teachers selected for these institutes received stipends for room and board. Admission, however, was free and a number larger than those selected attended the lectures. The institutes stressed methodology, psychology of adult language education, and search for new texts and teaching aids. Since 1955, Dr. Eliakim Weinberg, Tel Aviv Supervisor of the Department for Language Teaching, has served as the organizer and coordinator of these seminars.<sup>214</sup>

In 1957, an attempt was made to introduce adult language courses in the curricula of the nation's twelve kindergarten and elementary teachers' seminaries. This effort was made, according to Dr. David Marani, to combat the appalling shortage of competent teachers due primarily to the greatly increased volume of immigration in that year. The Ministry's Department for Teacher Education appointed a committee to study the matter and to forward its recommendations to the Ministry, so that a program could go into operation beginning with the 1957/58 school year. The committee included Lt. Moshe Manor, Associate Director of the language teaching program of the Israeli Army; Dr. David Marani, Curriculum Consultant and Supervisor for the Department of



Language Teaching; Dr. Gideon Freudenberg, Director of the Center for Popular Education of the Hebrew University; and Mr. M. Keren, Director of the Ministry's Adult Education Department.

At a meeting of the committee held in Tel Aviv on March 13, 1957, the deliberations centered mainly around the particular emphasis to be given in the courses suggested. Specifically, the plan called for the following:<sup>215</sup>

1. Practical pedagogy in classroom instruction and observation-demonstration sessions at Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem.
2. The method to be used in these teacher education courses would be the one developed by Dr. Marani in his teachers' text Ha-metodika shel horaat ha-lashon ha-ivrit li-mebugarim.
3. The courses would be for a total of 34 hours—25 hours of lectures and 9 hours of observation and practice teaching.

The suggested course of study included: 1) Teaching methods for illiterates—4 hours of lectures, 2 hours of observation; 2) Techniques in teaching oral expression—3 hours of lectures; 3) Techniques in teaching written Hebrew—2 hours of lectures; 4) Techniques in teaching reading—1 hour of lecture; 5) Techniques in teaching grammar—1 hour of lecture; 6) Discussion of principles of education related to each of the three grade levels—beginners, intermediate and advanced classes—4 hours of lectures; 7) Methods and purposes in teaching foundation education to adults—i.e., courses in history, geography, civics, Bible and arithmetic—8 hours of lectures, 2 hours of observation; 8) Principles of adult educational psychology—2 hours of lectures. In addition to these specific lecture and observation hours



were 5 hours of practice teaching at Ulpan Etzion and the evening ulpaniot in Jerusalem.

The committee recommended that this full course be given in a concentrated period of four weeks of study, during the last year (the second) of the student's schooling. The concluding statement in the minutes observed that although this plan was voluntary as far as the students were concerned, the fact that the Ministry was in favor of it gave a hopeful sign that ultimately it would become required for all kindergarten and elementary school teachers.

The plan outlined above was introduced in the David Yellin Teachers' Seminary in Bet Ha-kerem, Jerusalem, in the 1957/58 school year. Because of its voluntary nature, however, only a small number of students enrolled in these courses, resulting in the partial elimination of the program from the curriculum. Dr. Abraham Ibn Shushan, Principal of the David Yellin Seminary, told the writer that although the objectives of the plan were praiseworthy, the administration of it was complicated and the program did not lend itself to success for the following reasons: 1) The two-year curriculum at the Seminary was already overcrowded with courses and practice teaching assignments geared to the specific purposes of the Seminary (i.e., educating kindergarten and elementary school teachers), and the introduction of additional courses and time-consuming evening observation assignments presented innumerable problems that could not easily be dismissed; 2) The voluntary nature of the program placed no obligation upon the young students, who were not "overly enthusiastic" about teaching adults. Dr. Ibn Shushan added the observation that when the Seminary would have a three-year



school instead of a two-year school, he was confident that it could have compulsory courses in adult language and culture education.<sup>216</sup>

At a meeting called by the Department for Language Teaching on December 2, 1959, at Ulpan Borokhov in Givatayim, there was a resumption of the plan to introduce adult language courses into the curricula of the teachers' seminars. The writer attended the meeting at the invitation of Dr. Shlomo Kodesh. Twenty educators in the field of Manhalat ha-lashon participated in the planning session. Among these were the principals of the intensive ulpanim, the area supervisors of the Negev, Haifa, Tel Aviv, Upper Galilee and Jerusalem, and Dr. Kodesh. A set of objectives was distributed and this constituted the basis for the deliberations. Specifically, these were:

1. In the teaching process at the teachers' seminars, the theoretical presentations should be related to practical problems, with the express purpose of involving the students in asking questions and the instructors in clarifying the answers.
2. Special emphasis was to be placed upon student observation in "good classes" of the ulpanim and ulpaniot, particularly in beginners' classes.
3. It is considered desirable that the students shall do their practice teaching in the same classes they observed.

In addition to this set of objectives, a detailed course of study was suggested, divided into ten lessons. They were:<sup>217</sup>

Lesson One: Adult education in Israel and other nations. Psychology of the adult learner. The effect of age. Uniformity in methodology in language teaching and adult education. Didactic principles (skills, habits, etc.). The aim of teaching the Hebrew language to adults (stressing skills of speaking). The different methods in teaching languages in other lands.



Lesson Two: Oral expression and drill--questions and answers, brief conversation, dramatization, story of life situation, summarizing material read, a longer conversation, discussion, mock trial, students' expositions, how and when to correct mistakes made by students in their presentations.

Lesson Three: Written expression and drill--writing letters, notes, synopsis, diary, compositions, home assignments and how to correct mistakes.

Lesson Four: Teaching skills of comprehension by listening to radio broadcasts, lectures and class readings. The teacher's introductory siha. Silent reading in class and in student's home. Reading of written assignment. Reading in vowelled and unvowelled newspaper.

Lesson Five: Teaching beginners. Get-acquainted conversation. Description of surroundings. Students' daily schedule. When to introduce textbook (after students learned 150 words). Talks on subjects. The issue of nikkud. Chorus recitation--advantages and disadvantages.

Lesson Six: Curriculum of the Department. Vocabulary. Word frequency. Functional words. Easy Hebrew--literary or Israeli.

Lesson Seven: How to explain new expression or idiom--translation, dramatization, pictures. Drawings on blackboard. Explanation through familiar and known phrases and expressions. Explanation through association and sentence context. Examining understanding through sentences with meaning and content. Illustrations and drill.

Lesson Eight: Grammar and how to teach it. Formal syntax. Functional grammar. Inductive learning of rules of grammar. Problems of different languages and their grammar structure. The genders. The numbers. The tenses. The verb structure. Teaching spriting through rules and with the aid of correct pronunciation. Drill and practice. Copy work, dictation, and how to correct mistakes. (The study of grammar not through formal teaching of subject but through association with usage of language.)

Lesson Nine: The lesson structure. Acceptable textbooks. The teaching of subjects--institutions in Israel, geography, problems of foundation education to adults in Israel, etc.

Lesson Ten: Teaching the illiterates. Different methods and techniques. Available texts and teaching aids.



To the best of the writer's knowledge, no official action was taken by the Ministry of Education and Culture to include the limited adult education study plan into the elementary teacher seminaries of the State during the 1959/60 or 1960/61 academic years. On an experimental basis, however, a course entitled "Teaching the Language to Olim" was given at the Mizrahi Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem by Mrs. Shoshana Eytan, acting principal of Ulpan Etzion. The course was given in the evening, to second-year students, and was an elective. The majority of the students enrolled in the course lived in the dormitory attached to the school.

In the early years of hanhalat ha-lashon, teachers of adults did not receive the same recognition in hiring procedures, fringe benefits and salary as did the teachers employed in the government's public schools. In 1950, the Ministry of Education and Culture appointed a committee to study the situation and to present recommendations (see pp. 246-247).

From 1951 to 1955, the adult language teachers remained their own bargaining agents. They were not included in the category of government workers, a status already achieved by the elementary school teachers. Writing in Hed ha-hinukh of November 29, 1956, in anticipation of the approaching convention of teachers of adults, Mr. Zvi Navon of the Teachers' Federation stated that the teachers should consider their adult language profession as a permanent one in the land, and that the government should include these teachers among "all teachers who work for the good of its citizenry and its national future."<sup>218</sup>



On January 31, 1957, Mr. Y. L. Grodzinsky reported on the deliberations of the convention.<sup>219</sup> He reviewed the importance of the 600 teachers working in hanhalat ha-lashon and declared that the injustices and discriminations against them would result not only in their leaving the field of adult language education but ultimately would deplete the profession of competent personnel so sorely needed in this area of education. He enumerated the difficulties of having to negotiate with numerous employers, among whom were the Ministry of Education and Culture, the culture committees of municipalities and local authorities, the committees of the Histadrut and other organizations. The teachers found themselves in a precarious situation, Mr. Grodzinsky said. Their salaries were not based upon the rise in the cost of living; they were not entitled to old-age benefits, to sick leave, vacations, and so on. They did not have the weapon of striking, which was an inalienable right of the Federation of Teachers.

Three years elapsed between the national conventions of teachers of adults. Setting the tone for the 1959 convention, Mr. Grodzinsky noted the gains made by one segment of the adult language teachers in the years between the conventions.<sup>220</sup> These gains were in the improvement of the working conditions among the teachers in the Ministry's intensive ulpanim. Mr. Grodzinsky reported that their professional status, insofar as annual vacations, holiday recesses, reduced hours at advanced age, salary on time, tenure and all other fringe benefits were concerned, is comparable to that of the elementary school teachers. Moreover, these teachers have their representative on the central committee of the Federation of Teachers in Israel. Their status is



recognized and respected as an essential element in the network of educational institutions in the land.

Comparable improvement did not take place in the lot of the vast majority of teachers in hanhalat ha-lashon classes. The discriminatory practices and the uncertainties of employment and benefits which had plagued the profession in previous years had not been corrected by 1959. Mr. Grodzinsky deplored this situation, asserting that it affects the goals expected in the adult language and basic education courses. He said:<sup>221</sup>

These teachers have no spirit or inclination to advance in their pedagogic achievements because of the temporary nature and instability of their work... Every year, or sometimes in the middle of a year, they await renewal appointments... The local authorities view this educational activity as a transient need governed mostly by the rise and fall of immigration... and there is no greater error than this! It is obvious that the problem of teaching the language in Israel, which hopes for the ingathering and absorption of the exiles, will confront us for many years to come... and to fulfill our commitments, the teaching of the language will remain obligatory upon us.

Mr. Grodzinsky posed the oft-voiced question: Why does not the government take over the full responsibility for operating all hanhalat ha-lashon classes as a permanent program, similar to that of elementary education? Although the Ministry of Education and Culture is generous with its financial aid—40% of teachers' salaries in the ulpanim, 60% of salaries in basic education classes and 80% of salaries in reshit daat (illiterate) classes—it cannot disregard the advantages of carrying the entire program and not relying upon other agencies for supplemental aid.

Mr. Grodzinsky called for a better understanding and working relationship between the local authorities and the Ministry of Edu-



cation and Culture through its Department for Language Teaching. He asked the convention to discuss the problem of the transiency of the adult language teacher, and attempt to evolve a plan which could be recommended to the authorities for adoption.



Chapter XVI.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS OF TEACHING THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AND CULTURE TO ADULTS IN ISRAEL

The central fact about methods in education is that they be geared to achieve results to well-defined objectives in a unique situation and under certain conditions. The methods employed in teaching the Hebrew language and culture to adult immigrants, particularly since the establishment of the ulpanim in 1949, were those which gave the greatest assurance that the students would learn to speak, read and write Hebrew in the shortest time possible.

When Professor Eliezer Rieger in 1953 estimated that it would require 1800 to 2400 hours to learn the language<sup>222</sup>, the ulpan educators proved that 535 hours under concentrated study conditions in a period of five months would be ample to bring the learner to a level of having acquired good skills in conversation, reading and writing. As a matter of fact, under the special conditions of the Israeli Army program, which will be discussed in the following chapter, the basic Hebrew language arts are being taught successfully to its recruits in 180 hours. The primary contribution of the ulpan and Army methods is that they have succeeded in teaching the basic language skills to thousands of persons in a comparatively short period.

Nevertheless, it is conceded by the Israeli Hebrew language educators that even with the concentrated learning period the desired goals would not be achieved unless the cultural aims of Israeli life were an integral part of the teaching plan and the total educational



enterprise. Thus it was accepted that the ultimate purpose of the adult Hebrew language education venture was to effect a change in the learner so that he could, in addition to acquiring the language skills, speedily become an active citizen and that he would develop a feeling of belonging and a readiness to learn, understand and participate in the civic life of the State.

From September, 1949, to September, 1952, the adult language teaching institutions in Israel followed a provisional curriculum issued by the Department for Language Teaching which was based in the main upon the curriculum constructed for Ulpan Etzion and Ulpan Motzkin in their early mahzorim.<sup>223</sup> During this interim curriculum committees were appointed and periodic evaluation seminars and teacher-symposia were conducted, under the aegis of the Department, at the various ulpanim and at regional faculty meetings, in order to study the methods of instruction, the levels of achievement, the textual material, the hours of instruction and supervised lesson preparation, the vocabulary selection, the content and frequency of faculty meetings, teacher in-service education and the other phases of the total educational process.

For the 1952 fall term, the Department for Language Teaching had completed and introduced its first unified and standardized curriculum for all types of ulpanim in Israel. Although the objectives were the same for all the ulpanim, the curriculum varied for each type of ulpan in the intensiveness of study and the length of the study period. This curriculum was revised and modified in 1956 and again in 1958. The objectives have remained the same, but the pedagogic devices, the



school term structure, textual material and other phases have either been modified or radically changed in the light of the on-going experience and the improved methods of language teaching.

THE 1952 CURRICULUM.<sup>224</sup>

The preface explains that the basic principles of the curriculum have been formulated by a body of principals, supervisors and teachers of the Department for Language Teaching, and have been subsequently approved by the administration of the Department. The immediate objective was the "absorption in the shortest time and by the most efficient methods, of the masses of the immigrants, speaking different languages, and having different cultures, into a unified linguistic, cultural and social entity." The ultimate objective was to impart to the oleh "a satisfactory knowledge of the language, the Hebrew culture and the Israeli way of life, so that he can function effectively as a citizen of the State of Israel."

The curriculum was designed to meet the spiritual needs of the olim, on the one hand, and the minimal demands made upon them by the State, on the other hand. <sup>In</sup> The teaching of the language arts--speaking, reading and writing--speaking should assume priority. However, the teaching of the Bible, Hebrew culture and Israeli civics were to be an important part of the educational process, for otherwise the oleh would remain "a foreigner speaking Hebrew" and could not become a part of the people emerging on its own land.

Specifically, the course of studies consisted of the following subjects:

1. Hebrew Conversation -- an ample vocabulary and idioms equipping the



student to express freely and correctly his daily wants, to present a talk about personal events and current happenings and to convey understanding of a lecture or talk by his fellow students, teacher or invited speaker.

2. Reading -- a fluent reading with comprehension of the printed form, with or without vowels. Also, the ability to read the written form of material related to the studies, i.e., invitations, announcements, letters, and so forth.

3. Writing -- clear and legible penmanship, grammatically correct. Ability to express in writing impressions and experiences, synopses and compositions, letters, conversations and so forth, in a simple and clear style.

4. Grammar -- general knowledge of basic rules as related to speaking usage.

5. Literature -- familiarity with noted writers and poets through the study of selections from their writings.

6. Tanakh -- general knowledge of the books of the Torah and Early Prophets. Also selected passages from the books of the Later Prophets and the Writings.

7. Geography -- general recognition and knowledge of the land, its sectors and settlements.

8. Aggadah -- selected chapters.

9. Jewish History and Zionism -- general knowledge of the important and crucial periods in the history of the Jewish people, with emphasis upon the ties and kinship between the people and the land, and the fundamental principles of political Zionism.



10. Citizenship -- knowledge of the institutions in the State and the Zionist Organization, public and private organizations, the basic laws of the land, the forms of settlement, the organization of the government, the educational and cultural institutions, the holidays and customs of Israel.
11. Singing -- folk songs, festival songs, patriotic and labor songs.

In describing the method of approach and the time to be allotted to the coverage of the material, it was stated that the curriculum was to be flexible and that the teacher should be guided by the caliber and responsiveness of the students. The teacher was to continue to experiment and to study the problems confronted and the goals achieved, so that further refinement and improvement would be possible.

It was emphasized that the recommended curriculum was a minimum and standardized one, requiring conformity in all types of language teaching institutions for adults which were approved by the Department. The course of study was divided into four shelabim (stages), in time and in coverage of material. A student completing one shalab will be promoted to the next one, following an examination. Upon completion of the fourth shalab, and after passing a final examination, the student will be awarded a certificate from the Department for Language Teaching.

The difference between the types of learning institutions was not in the course of studies but rather in the intensity of the study, and the time it required to complete the course. The following table presents a break-down of the different types of ulpanim as they existed in 1952.



TABLE XXXV. TYPES OF ULPANIM, HOURS OF INSTRUCTION AND LENGTH OF COURSE (1952). (225)

<u>TYPE OF INSTITUTION</u>	<u>HOURS PER WEEK</u>	<u>LENGTH OF SHALAB</u>	<u>LENGTH OF COURSE</u>
Ulpán	30 -- includes supervised study	5 weeks	5 months
Work Ulpán (in kibbutzim)	24 -- plus supervised study	6 weeks	6 months
Popular Ulpán	24	6½ weeks	6½ months
Ulpánit	10	2½ months	10 months
Popular Ulpánit	4½	---	20 months

During the first two shelabim the emphasis was to be placed upon teaching the language arts, even to the exclusion of the other subjects. Beginning with the third shalab, however, the other subjects were to be included. The final examination for the certificate was to place primary importance upon the language subjects.

The Department did not recommend a suitable textbook or teaching aids especially for the beginners' classes. Such a text was in the process of being written and was hoped to be published soon. The Department was also preparing pamphlets as teaching aids in the various subjects of the curriculum. Until these were published, it advised the teacher to resort to whatever was available and extract the best from each publication. The 1952 curriculum was concluded with the following statement:<sup>226</sup>

Regrettably we cannot recommend methods of instruction or proven pedagogic principles by which you can be guided and which are so essential for the teacher. Yet, in the division of the textual material and the order of teaching, one can find the particulars needed, especially for the beginning teacher. For the veteran teacher, the directions can be guideposts which he can use to the best advantage and he can certainly, in his judgement, proceed independently.



THE 1956 CURRICULUM. 227

The objectives of adult language and culture education, as formulated in the 1952 curriculum, remained the same in the 1956 revision. Similarly, the courses and areas of instruction were unchanged in the second edition. The changes which appeared in the 1956 curriculum were basically of a practical nature and came as a result of a refined and "tightened" approach which was gained from the experience of the four intervening years. The changes were as follows:

1. The course of study was divided into three shelabim, instead of four as in 1952. The fourth shalab, not a part of the basic course, was designed for specialization in the Hebrew arts and in vocations. Each shalab was to have a definite objective: shalab 1, conversation of daily living; shalab 2, preparation for reading a newspaper; and shalab 3, preparation for reading selections in modern literature.
2. The subjects were taught in designated shelabim: geography and Israeli citizenship, as well as newspaper, in the second shalab; Jewish history, Tanakh and Aggadah in the third shalab. In addition, the suggestion that singing not be a required subject in the third shalab freed the teacher to concentrate on the subjects designated.
3. An improved method in developmental language teaching was given. The curriculum stated that the skills of speaking and of "attuning the ear" to listening should be taught before teaching reading or writing. The first two weeks of shalab 1 were to be devoted to practice and drill in learning simple conversation within a defined vocabulary of 100 to 150 words. Then the text was to be introduced. The first ten to fifteen pages of the text listed the words and idioms



which were to have been studied orally during the first two weeks. This insistence upon a circumscribed vocabulary and a follow-up drill in its usage during the sihot portions of the lessons has, in the view of the teachers and principals in the ulpanim, been a powerful instructional technique in the teaching process.

Among the other suggested approaches to teaching were: the deliberate avoidance of the use of translation, particularly at the beginners' level; the stress upon the fullest pupil involvement in class-work; and the postponement of teaching grammar to the upper shelabim. Ha-dikduk ha-funktsionali, or functional grammar, became a by-word at the teachers' seminars, and it was urged in the 1956 curriculum. The significant role that homework must play in the educational process was also emphasized.

4. In line with tightening the teaching methods and concentration on given words and phrases, a word-idiom list was included. This list was selected on the basis of wide usage by the majority of the people in Israel, in speech and in print.

5. In the four-year period between the first and second editions of the Department's curriculum, a number of textbooks had been published by independent publishers and by publishers commissioned by the Department. However, a text to be used in the adult language teaching institutions required the approval of the Department for Language Teaching.

The basic text used in the beginners' classes for the first shalab was Elef Milim, Parts 1 and 2; Pesukim (Selections of the Tanakh and Aggadah), Parts 1 and 2, was used for shalab 2; and Am we-lashon (Selections in Modern Literature) for shalab 3. Yalkut Pitgamim (a collection of sayings, idioms and expressions) and Pirkei Zimrah were used for all shelabim. Other corollary texts were Yalkut ha-Rambam



and Am Yisrael (Jewish history and Zionism) in shalab 3, and Zot Artzi in Shēlab 2.

The Department considered audio-visual aids as vital in the teaching of the Hebrew language in the ulpanim. It therefore chose the Elef Milim text to be transcribed onto a series of 30 records, and commissioned a recording agency to prepare them. However, because of budgetary cuts, it was forced to abandon this project after making an original investment of 5,000 lirot (see page 301). The Department did provide colorful illustrated charts designed to teach terminology in specific areas of daily activity or occupations. These were used at the different types of ulpanim in the first and second shelabin.

The La-mathil weekly became a required tool in teaching newspaper reading and news comprehension, in the second shalab. Other newspapers were used, such as the vowelled Omer, and the Ha-aretz and Davar in the upper shelabin.

The following table shows the structure of the hanhalat ha-lashon institutions as they were revised in the 1956 curriculum.

TABLE XXXVI. THE STRUCTURE OF THE HANHALAT HA-LASHON INSTITUTIONS, AUGUST, 1956. (228)

<u>TYPE OF INSTITUTION</u>	<u>LENGTH/SHELAB</u>	<u>LENGTH/COURSE</u>	<u>DAYS OF STUDY</u>	<u>HOURS OF STUDY</u>
Ulpan (30 hrs/wk.)	7 weeks	5 months	107	535 (6 days/wk. 5 hrs./day)
Work Ulpan (24 hrs./wk.)	8 weeks	6 months	137	548 (6 days/wk. 4 hrs./day)
Popular Ulpan (16 hrs./wk.)	13 weeks	9 months	143	572 (4 days/wk. 4 hrs./day)
Ulpanit (8 hrs./wk.)	26 weeks	18 months	286	572 (4 days/wk. 2 hrs./day)
Popular Ulpanit (4-6 hrs. per wk.)	--	not defined	--	-- (2-3 days/wk. 2 hrs./day)
Study Groups and Family Circles (2-4 hrs./wk.)	--	not defined	--	-- (1-2 days/wk. 2 hrs./day)



There were two factors which played a crucial part in the success of hanhalat ha-lashon, the curriculum stated. These were: 1) the teacher--his competence, and his suitability for this specialized kind of teaching, in temperament, devotion and effort; and 2) the central and local authorities responsible to organize the classes; the working conditions they offer the teacher; the care they give to develop the program and to equip and maintain the classrooms properly; the teacher in-service education and supervision; and the provision of suitable text material and teaching aids.

The 1956 curriculum was concluded with the following statement:<sup>229</sup>

This curriculum, as all general curriculums, is geared for the average student. It is up to the teacher to enrich it for the very capable students and to modify the requirements for the slow student...In all instances, the goals must be related to the capacities of the students...May this second edition of the proposed curriculum be an important link in the chain of the manifold efforts to raise the standards and the benefits of our work.

#### THE 1958 CURRICULUM.<sup>230</sup>

The curriculum used currently is Israel for all the adult language institutions in the State was issued in September, 1958, by the Department for Language Teaching, and is identical with the 1956 curriculum. It encompasses all subjects to be taught, giving a detailed explanation of the aims, the textual material, the instructional approaches and comments for each of the eleven areas listed in the first course of studies issued in 1952. The appendix contains a basic vocabulary list of 1000 words and a supplement of 166 words and idioms of "basic concepts of the Jewish people"--including words related to the holidays, to religious and Zionist tradition, newly-coined words and words commonly used in the galut languages.<sup>231</sup>



The present course of studies has been supplemented by a monthly igeret la-moreh which began to be published, in mimeographed form, in the winter of 1958, three months after Dr. Shlomo Kodesh assumed the direction of the Department. The last igeret examined for this study (Issue 15) came out in April, 1960. These igeret contain contributions by Dr. Kodesh, and by teachers, supervisors and contributing educators. They deal with methods of instruction, areas of instruction, reports of experiments, and so on, covering the entire gamut of hanhalat ha-lashon. The subjects covered in the first fifteen issues were:

1. Overall purposes of the Igarot--Teacher Guides for Better Education (4 pp.).
2. Correct Usage and Application of Common Grammatical Forms (5 pp.).
3. The Use of Educational Games (8 pp.).
4. Drill and Practice in the Teaching of Oral Expression (9 pp.).
5. The Introductory Siha and how to relate it to the Educational Process (8 pp.).
- 6-7. Geography of Israel--Know Your Land (17 pp.).
8. Teaching Writing in Adult Language Classes (12 pp.).
9. The Pasture--Still or Moving--as a tool in the Teaching of the Language (14 pp.).
10. Comprehension--Definition of Words--How to Teach this Area (10 pp.).
- 11-12. How to Teach the Illiterates--Purposes, Methods and Goals (18 pp.).
- 13-14. Purposes of Drill and Practice in Speaking (a follow-up to igeret 3 and 4) (17 pp.).
15. Homework Assignments--Purposes and Ways of Achieving Maximum Results (8 pp.).

A special igeret (46 pp.) was issued by Dr. Kodesh in October, 1958, designed to help the volunteer teacher in the Mivtza Hisul Ha-



baarut. In it, he described the project and offered a suggested plan and schedule for teaching the adult illiterates.<sup>232</sup>

Mr. Joseph Shaked, a former Director of the Department for Language Teaching, was commissioned by the Department to write a special igarot explaining to the volunteer teacher how to use the text Ha-sefer Shelam for illiterate adults. This igarot, entitled Madrikh le-horaat ha-kria we-ha-ketiva la-moreh ha-mitnadev, was distributed in December, 1958.

Among the features of the igarot was a section of teachers' comments, appraisals and project reports. The writer found this section especially valuable, since it reflected the difficulties and the attainments in the teaching process, from the classroom teacher's point of view. In general, the igarot proved helpful to the teachers, according to their personal testimony to the writer.

In addition to the igarot as aids to teachers in hanhalat ha-lashon, the Centre for Culture and Education of the Histadrut published in 1954 Yad la-Moreh (Handbook for Teachers).<sup>233</sup> The studies and articles on adult language teaching included in this text came from leading teachers of adults in Israel.

In 1956, the Association of Teachers of Adults, affiliated with the Federation of Teachers in Israel, began to publish a monthly magazine entitled Le-manhil, edited by Mrs. Fryda Grodovitch. Le-manhil was designed to help adult language teachers with general information on the operation of adult language teaching institutions, as well as instructional information on methods and teaching aids. To illustrate the typical contents of Le-manhil, the July, 1957, issue contained the



following articles:

1. How to Teach Tanakh to Adults--by Meir Mohar
2. How Tanakh is being taught in the Ulpanim--by Esther Levenhartz, Principal of Ulpan Motzkin, Bat Galim
3. Report on the Archeological Conference in Tel Aviv (June 1956) with reference to the Teaching of Tanakh--by Mrs. Fryda Grodovitch, editor.
4. First Lesson in Teaching Geography--by Daniel Zimer, a teacher in Ulpan Borokhov
5. Teaching of the Festivals, with Description of Teaching Tu be-shvat --by Moshe Alon, Principal of Zionist House Ulpan, Tel Aviv
6. Holding a Mock Trial in Adult Language Class--by Eliyahu Rubin, teacher in Ulpanit Yad Eliyahu, Tel Aviv
7. First Week at Ulpan Akiba, Netanya--by Dr. Yaakov Mitelman
8. Graduation Exercises in Ulpan Meir, Tel Aviv--by Gershon Ari, teacher in Ulpan Meir
9. Parents' Class in Maabara Mishmar ha-Sharon--by Nahum Alter, culture worker
10. Collection of book reviews and Comments on operation of Ulpanim--Editor
11. What's Doing in Hanhalat Ha-lashon in Israel--Editor

Dr. David Marani's book, Ha-metodika shel horaat ha-lashon ha-ivrit li-mebugarim, published in 1956, and Mr. Aharon Rosen's book, Madrikh le-horaat ha-lashon, published in 1954, are among the few teacher guides available for the teaching of the Hebrew language to adults in Israel. Mr. Aharon Kaniel, the Department's Negev area supervisor, published a booklet in 1958 entitled Tora ha-ketiv (The Teaching of Writing).

In July, 1959, the School of Education of the Hebrew University and the Department for Language Teaching released a collection of essays and pedagogic articles on the teaching of the Hebrew language to adult immigrants. The contributors were educators who have played a vital part in the development of the ulpan method. They included Professor Hayim Rabin of the Hebrew University, Mr. Nahum Gavrieli of the Histadrut Centre for Education and Culture, Dr. Eliakim Weinberg, regional supervisor of the Tel Aviv area of the Department for Language



Teaching, Dr. Mordecai Kamrat, Dr. David Marani, Mr. Aharon Rosen and Dr. Shlomo Kodesh. This Leket Maamarim was widely circulated and, according to Dr. Marani, was helpful to the teachers.

#### CURRICULUM FOR RESHIT-DAAT CLASSES

The Department for Language Teaching issued an independent curriculum geared for adult students who could not read or write. The course of study was developed in 1955/56 for use in the anticipated program of hisul ha-baarut. It was used in the development settlements and the moshava olim where basic education was vital to the adjustment of the immigrants, settled in family units in these areas by the Jewish Agency.

The Reshit-Daat curriculum was based on a 9-month course of 150 hours of instruction. It included the following subjects:

1. Hebrew language--75 hours
2. Arithmetic--30 hours
3. Nature study (personal hygiene, health, care of kitchen and household equipment, care of technical and farm equipment, climate and nature phenomena, etc.)--20 hours
4. Geography and history of Israel--15 hours
5. Civics--10 hours

According to the instructions in the curriculum, the teacher was to devote the first four months to the teaching of the Hebrew language only. After the students acquired a functional vocabulary (the list was not supplied in the curriculum), the teacher was to proceed with the other subjects. In the teaching of the language, the instructor was directed not to concentrate upon conversation as a specific subject. "The learner will acquire the usages through the teaching of



the other subjects in Hebrew." The phonetical method of teaching reading was recommended in the first stages, to be followed, gradually, by the analytical or global whole word method.

The textbooks used were Ivrit la-am by Dr. Ben Zion Reich; Ha-alpon--kra ukhtov by Devorah Levanon; Elef Milim, Part 1, by Mr. Aharon Rosen; Da et medinatkha by Y. Ben Yehuda; Zot Artzi by Y. Aharoni (published by the Israeli Army); Yalkut Pitgamim, edited by Y. Keren; and Pesuke Zimra, edited by Sh. Hoffman. The teachers' guidebooks by Dr. Marani and Mr. Rosen, mentioned on page 345, were recommended for use by the teachers.

#### TEXTBOOKS IN HANHALAT HA-LASHON

During the early years of hanhalat ha-lashon there were no textbooks available that had been written especially for adults. Generally, children's texts were adapted for use by adult students. In the 1920's, the textbook Messila, a compilation of articles and stories edited by Shmuel Yavnieli and published by the Vaadat ha-tarbut, was used for reading and study by adults.

Among the first texts used in the teaching of the Hebrew language to adults was Adam ba-moledet by Dr. Shlomo Kodesh. This book was released in 1946 and it is still being used, particularly in the evening classes. In 1953 Kibbutz Galuyot by Dr. Kodesh and A. Shamir was published by the Am Oved Publishers of the Histadrut. Both texts contain an introduction to the teachers with suggestions and directions on how to use the material most effectively.

In 1954, B. Avivi and N. Persky authored a language text for adult learners in two volumes entitled Safa Ahat, published by N. Twersky,



Inc., of Tel Aviv. The text Aleh le-Yisrael, in three volumes, first appeared in 1954 and is being used widely in the ulpaniot, in the work ulpanim and the Makhon le-Madrikhei Yisrael (to be discussed later). The authors, A. Rosen and A. Ashmon, suggested the overall aim to be the teaching of the spoken and functional Hebrew with all the grammatical rules. Their recommended methods and techniques included the use of short sihot, vocabulary and sentence drill, and the teaching of dramatization, declamation, singing and entertainment.

In 1954 the popular adult language text Elef Milim appeared. It was published in 30,000 copies by the Ahiasaf Publishers of Jerusalem, after it had received approval by the Ministry of Education and Culture for use in hanhalat ha-lashon classes. The text is now available in four volumes and is used widely in Israel, the United States and Canada. Mr. Aharon Rosen, the author, has been recognized as a leading proponent of the vowelled approach in teaching the Hebrew language to adult beginners. The first two volumes stress this approach.

In 1956 L. Y. Riklis authored a beginners' text entitled Mori. It is being used as a supplementary pupil text in certain ulpaniot (evening classes) in Jerusalem and Haifa.

In 1957 and 1958 there appeared a new textbook in four volumes. The authors, Dr. Yehuda Radai, professor of Hebrew at the Technion, and Dr. Mordecai Kamrat, principal of Ulpan Etzion, claimed that the Tzaad series offered a new approach to the teaching of the "Israeli Hebrew language." The text, they contend, is stimulating in interest and challenging in content, and presents a developmental approach in the teaching of Hebrew. An added departure from the conventional texts is



the usage of unvowelled Hebrew. The books are used principally at Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem.

A special text in simple Hebrew for use in the mivtza hisul ha-baarut was published in April, 1956, and subsequently five additional editions appeared. The text, Ivrit la-Am, by Dr. Benzion Reich, is designed to teach the first steps in reading and writing, illustrating its contents with colorful pictures and action scenes. The "word approach" is used with great success, even with illiterate learners, according to Mr. Joseph Shaked. Ivrit la-Am had the approval, at the time of its publication, of the Ministry's Pedagogic Committee on behalf of the mivtza.

#### VOWELLED VS. UNVOWELLED HEBREW IN ADULT LANGUAGE TEXTS

The issue of vowels was raised in 1956 at an Adult Language Teachers Seminar in Tel Aviv during a discussion on methods of teaching comprehension, speaking and reading of Hebrew. It was reported that a spirited exchange of opinions resulted in the establishment of two schools of thought--the "vowellists" and the "non-vowellists." Mr. Aharon Rosen advocated the use of vowels when teaching the language to adults; Dr. David Marani, later joined by Dr. Mordecai Kamrat, was the non-vowel proponent.<sup>234</sup>

The vowelists contend that the construction of the Hebrew language and its word-spelling structure demand that vowels be used as aids to reading. Particularly in the case of adult learners, who have natural reserves and lack of confidence in tackling a new language whether they are educated or illiterate, the vowels can help in language comprehension, reading, speaking and even writing. Reading will be more



exact and consequently the word image will make a greater impression. Furthermore, the transition between the vowelled primer and the Tanakh will be easier if initially the student had been disciplined in reading a vowelled text. However, at later stages, when the student's Hebrew becomes more proficient, the non-vowelled text can be introduced and the carry-over will be a painless one.

The non-vowellists refute the claim that the absence of vowels handicaps even the adult learner from forming correct word-unit images. On the contrary, they say, comprehension and reading propensities are closely correlated with the range of eye-fixations. If a student is not preoccupied with figuring out the vowels--a double effort--he will not only learn to read faster, write more correctly from image impulses, and speak more freely, but will also obtain a broader grasp of language sensitivity, which in the final analysis is one of the ultimate objectives of hanhalat ha-lashon. Besides, the advocates of this approach claim, the Hebrew in the daily press, in street announcements on kiosks and billboards, in train schedules, in signs on stores and institutions, and so on, is in the unvowelled format; and since the adult students are new immigrants learning the language perhaps for the first time, why create additional unnecessary language difficulties for them? An added argument for the unvowelled text is the economy of publication. It is estimated that the cost of printing a vowelled text is between 50% to 75% higher than the cost of printing the same text in the unvowelled form.<sup>235</sup>

The argument was subjected to a special study undertaken by the Department for Language Teaching in September, 1959. The writer sat



in at the initial meeting called by Dr. Kodesh. The study committee included Dr. J. Smilansky, Director of Mosad Szold, Dr. David Marani, Mr. A. Shamir, Associate Director of the Department, and Dr. Kodesh.

The study was to be conducted in five ulpanim over a period of three to five months, depending upon the conclusiveness of the findings. The experiment would be carried out only in total beginners' classes, and the purpose was to determine reading fluency and comprehension of the vowelled and unvowelled texts within a specified period.

It was decided that the unvowelled texts would be used in Ulpan Mazada in Beersheba and Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem. The vowelled texts would be used in Ulpan Meir in Tel Aviv, Ulpan Borokhov in Givatayim and Ulpan Motzkin in Haifa.

The "unvowelled" classes would use the text Ha-tzaad ha-rishon, after acquiring a vocabulary of 150 words. Books One and Two of Tzaad-Tzaad would follow. Neither texts nor newspapers which were vowelled were to be used in class during the experimental period. An unvowelled newspaper, to be designated by the committee, would be introduced in the second shalab.<sup>236</sup>

The "vowelled" classes would use the text Elef Milim, Parts One and Two, after acquiring a vocabulary of 150 words. The text Elef Milim we-od Alpayim would follow. In this category the vowelled newspapers were to be used exclusively.

The final specification was that the teachers in the "unvowelled" classes should not resort to the use of vowels when they illustrated or introduced words, phrases and announcements on the blackboard. The teachers in the "vowelled" classes were to write the vowels when using



the blackboard.

A number of criteria were suggested at the meeting to give greater validity to the findings. These were: 1) an equal number of students in each of the two categories; 2) similar methods to be used in each category; 3) the same approach to be used in supervision and in the explanation of the study to teachers; and 4) standardized reporting by teachers and principals.

Two questions were raised as factors which could conceivably impart wrong implications to the findings. They were: 1) the competence of the teacher; and 2) the experience of the teacher in relation to his approach and his personal educational goals. It was recommended that these questions be resolved at conferences with the teachers, and that teachers with definite views might prove unacceptable for this objective study. 237

Progress reports came in from the designated ulpanim during November, 1959, and again in January, 1960 except for Ulpan Etzion where the experiment was not undertaken until January, when the new mahzor began. When the writer left Israel in April, 1960, the Department had not made known its findings. However, in May of 1963 the writer inquired of Dr. Kodesh, on a two-year leave in the United States from his post in Israel, about the results of the experiment. Dr. Kodesh stated that the study had been discontinued before its fixed termination date because the reports from the ulpanim failed to show any definitive trends in either direction.

It is regrettable that the study was discontinued. Subjected to a longer period of scientific experimentation, it might have been pos-



sible to note the greater benefits of one method over the other. A positive finding would have been of great importance, since the writer feels that the ability to read correctly and at a rapid pace can lead to better comprehension and oral expression.

#### DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATIONAL APPROACH IN ULPANIM

Not long after the introduction of the intensive ulpanim in Israel, there emerged two distinct approaches to the educational process in terms of purposes and method. Like the controversy between the vowellists and the non-vowellists, discussed above, these two schools of thought also evoked considerable debate.

On the one hand was the informal and "social experience" approach espoused by Miss Shulamit Katznelson, principal of the ulpan in Nahariya in the early years, and since 1954 principal of Ulpan Akiba in Netanya. It has been Miss Katznelson's philosophy to create for her students an environment in which personal relationships and socialization would more successfully implement her Hebrew language and culture education objectives. Dancing, drama, social activities, song, and intergroup recreation—the townspeople meeting with the ulpanists or visits to kibbutzim—became her technique. The skills of communication on these levels were the goals and purposes.

On the other hand was the more formal and intellectual approach to the learning of the Hebrew language and culture as embraced by Dr. David Marani, Dr. Mordecai Kamrat, Dr. Eliakim Weinberg and others. This method has, to a greater or lesser degree, been followed by most of the other intensive ulpanim. The goals were to teach skills in language and knowledge of culture within the classroom framework.



While tiyulim and occasional parties were held, they were secondary to the basic goals. The methods employed were directed to accomplish the primary goals.

A discussion related to these methods in hanhalat ha-lashon took place at the December 2, 1959 meeting of ulpan educators (see page 327). The controversy revolved around the question of "zu ha-shita" (this is the method) and "zu lo ha-shita" (this is not the method). The adversaries were Miss Katznelson and Dr. Marani. Miss Katznelson defended her position by stating that under the conditions of her ulpan, the teaching methods she used were such as to assure the greatest effectiveness in integrating the students into Israeli life and culture.

Actually, both shitot are sound in the light of their accomplishments. Ulpan Akiba caters to a different type of student body: watikim who can afford to pay a high tuition (250 L.I. per month), tourists, diplomats and their secretarial help, members of the Arab tribes, and only a small percentage of olim. The ultimate educational purpose is not economic absorption, but "at homeness" and identification with the Israeli way of life.

In the majority of the ulpanim, the goals are economic and cultural absorption, and therefore the efficient use of the Hebrew language is a prime factor.

Dr. Kodesh observed that under no conditions should hanhalat ha-lashon become "enslaved to one goal and one method."



Chapter XVII.

ADULT LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE ISRAELI ARMY

In addition to performing an outstanding overall job in providing military security for the State of Israel, the Israeli Army is achieving extraordinary results in its educational and cultural program. A basic purpose of Tzahal (Israel Defense Forces) is "the absorption of new immigrants and their integration within the society of Israel."<sup>237</sup> To implement this aim, the Israeli Army has been conducting an Education Department within its basic framework. In its educational philosophy and teaching standards, this Department rates with the best developed educational enterprises in Israeli civilian life.

Hebrew language and culture courses are obligatory for all recruits who require them. These courses are given to the soldiers during their training schedule and not during their free after-training hours. The Education Department was begun in the army in 1948, within a few months after the State of Israel was proclaimed a sovereign state.

The total education program conducted by the Israeli Army has, since its inception in August, 1948, been headed by Chief Education <sup>Colonel</sup> Officer Aharon Zeev. The Department is composed of three divisions: the Basic Education Division, the High School Division and the Division of Higher Education. The only compulsory education is that offered by the Division of Basic Education, which provides a basic language and culture program for soldiers who are illiterate and for those who have no knowledge of the Hebrew language. This education ultimately leads



to the completion of elementary school requirements and the receipt of a diploma recognized by the Ministry of Education and Culture. As has been noted above, this entire curriculum is given the soldiers during their basic training schedule. Lieutenant Colonel Moshe Manor has headed the Basic Education Division since its beginning. Master Sergeant Zfirah Baruch has been in charge of teacher selection and curriculum supervision. This chapter concerns itself primarily with the operation of the Basic Education Division of the Education Department of the Israeli Army.<sup>238</sup>

In Zfirah Baruch's study of comparative army basic education programs, she states that "the overall educational aims of Tzahal are integrated and directed to: 1) the education of soldiers and defenders; and 2) the education of good citizens, i.e., to transform the Jews coming from many lands, who are not bonafide citizens and assuredly are not effective soldiers, into Israeli citizens who are devoted and loyal to the homeland, who have a positive point of view, who can be productive in the economy and who are fearless soldiers."<sup>239</sup> Specifically, the army aimed at raising the educational level of the individual soldier so that, first and foremost, he could be an effective fighter in the army by becoming aware of his strengths and responsibilities. This awareness, the army believed, can come as a result of military training, educational influences and social equality among the soldiers and their officers. The army considered that this overall program will "create in him (the soldier) the will to learn, to advance, to work and to defend."<sup>240</sup>

The first education courses met an urgent need to find a common



language of communication for soldiers who came from many parts of the world. The need for the understanding of commands on the battle-front and on the army posts, for the avoidance of mishaps and loss of life due to the misunderstanding of orders<sup>241</sup>, forced the rapid development of a basic language education program.

Professor Benzion Dinur presented to the Israeli Army the plan for setting up a central army school in Haifa. Beit Rutenberg on Mount Carmel was obtained to house the school and classes were opened in August, 1948. Recruits were sent from every army post and were given an accelerated ten-day, eight hours per day, course in basic language skills and Israeli culture. One hundred soldiers were enrolled in the first mahzor. Other mahzorim followed, with a five-day break in between each.

The accelerated curriculum included the learning of a basic military and social vocabulary of 250 words, the reading of simple commands, the writing of vital messages and the completion of simple vital statistics on the army forms. At first, six basic language sheets were used as teaching material. In 1949, the work sheets were revised and incorporated into a textbook called Reshit Aleph. The army newspaper for beginners' classes was Ba-mahane La-oleh.

The Israeli Army Basic Education Curriculum has been successful in achieving its objectives because it was based upon a well-planned and systematic organization; on standardized teaching, textbooks and teaching aids produced by the Army; on competently trained faculty, strict and close supervision, record-keeping and reporting, good graduation and classification; on clearly defined goals and a detailed



step-by-step curriculum.

As mentioned above, the basic education included beginners' Hebrew plus the full elementary school requirements. This was compulsory for all soldiers in need of it. The Army regulation explaining it states:<sup>242</sup>

...A soldier in regular service who has not completed an elementary school in this land, or who completed an elementary school abroad but who has not studied in Israel, is required to complete in the period of his army service the full course of elementary education, in accordance with his needs based upon a preliminary examination.

The regulation stipulated further that exemption from taking certain of the courses listed (see below) would be ascertained from the initial examination. At the same time, the soldier who is deficient in his knowledge of Hebrew, or who is illiterate even in the language of his country of origin, will be given individualized or small-group instruction in foundation education, so as to equip him to enter the regular basic courses.

In terms of hours of study, the following schedule was pursued. There were three shelabim of sixty hours each of language study. A soldier could conceivably be required to take one, two or all three shelabim, depending upon the results of the preliminary examination. In the case of illiterates, an additional 35 hours of instruction were given. For the illiterates' course and the first shalab of Hebrew language, soldiers came from the different posts to the central school, Mahane Marcus, on Mount Carmel. The other two shelabim of Hebrew and the remaining courses were taught at the army posts.

The course of study as given in Sergeant Baruch's monograph was: Hebrew, 180 hours; Know Your Country, 40 hours; The Jewish People, 40 hours; The Reconstruction of the State--Zionism, 40 hours; Tanakh, 50



hours; arithmetic, 80 hours; geography, 35 hours; and general history, 50 hours. The full course, given over the entire period of two and one-half years of army service, takes 515 hours; and with the illiterates' course of 35 hours, the total number of hours devoted to fulfilling the minimum requirements would be 550 hours.

In the event of deficient intelligence in a soldier, the regulation states:<sup>243</sup>

...If, after the soldier has been exposed to 100 hours of instruction, the education officer considers him uneducable, he is honorably discharged from the Army.

Referral of such students to the proper government civilian organizations is made. If he possesses mechanical ability, he may be retained in the army for the duration of his service period.<sup>244</sup>

Because of the compulsory nature of the educational program in army life, there was evidence at every stage of the course that results were being achieved. Knowing the aims and the goals, the teacher was able to pursue systematically with the teaching, and the soldier-student knew what was expected of him in each stage of progress. "In this way, the soldiers had ample motivation to proceed with the task."<sup>245</sup>

The methodology used had this official direction:<sup>246</sup>

...in order that the learning be geared to results, the material is divided into definite units. Goals are fixed for each unit (shalab)...

...in order to utilize to the fullest the hours designated for the coverage of each subject, there is a further subdivision of parcels of the subject and the hours required to accomplish each parcel. Each parcel or topic is given specific aims, and devices are offered for teaching it...

This precision approach is an exclusive contribution of the army method. In a modified manner, this approach has been adopted in the intensive ulpanim.



Consistent with the educational approach, the army has published textbooks and teaching aids, flash cards, posters, and so forth, which are geared to its method. The units of study lend themselves to the pursuance of the goals. The coverage of material and its absorption are regularly tested by periodic written examinations, the results of which are recorded punctually in the student's folder. Examination of records is made by a head teacher.

In the army method, learning takes place in small classes where individual attention and concern are given. The maximum number of students in a class for illiterates is five. In the other Hebrew shelabim, classes number between ten and eighteen students; and in the basic elementary subject classes the number ranges from fifteen to twenty-five.

A bold step was taken in connection with the complicated vowel system. In the army classes there is one standard pronunciation: there is noekamatz gadol or kamatz katan -- all komatzim are pronounced "ah"; there is nootzereh or segol -- both are pronounced "ay" as in "bay"; there is no shuruk or kubutz -- in writing or printing, vocalization is the same with both. Master-Sergeant Barukh explained the purpose of this step:<sup>247</sup>

A citizen of the country who understands what one says to him will talk the language of his people. These rules of nikkud, in our situation particularly, do complicate the educational process, and our basic aim of getting the soldier to speak, read and write quickly will be side-tracked and hindered if the nikkud is practiced.

Another device the army uses in its language education courses is to teach the four processes of the language arts at the same time, beginning with the first lesson. Speaking, listening, reading and writing are integrated and dovetailed.



The writer visited an army Hebrew class in its first shalab and observed the facility with which the teacher taught the combination-approach and the response of the soldiers to it. The technique appeared sound, judging from the enthusiasm of the fourteen students and their retention of the material taught as tested in a review given at the end of the four-hour lesson.<sup>248</sup>

Figures and statistics are rarely released by the Army, for security reasons. Nevertheless, the study by Zfirah Barukh contained a set of statistics (in percentages only, without the base figures) relating to the number of recruits in the Hebrew language classes during the period from May, 1956, to August, 1958. Of all soldiers recruited, 16% had no full elementary education in Israel or abroad; 12% had a complete elementary education abroad but were required to take the Hebrew language courses; thus, a total of 28% of all soldiers serving in the army during this period studied under the compulsory education regulation of the Army.<sup>249</sup>

Another table indicated that of the 28% requiring basic education, 3% were total illiterates (in any language); 7% were illiterate in Hebrew; 54.15% were required to study Hebrew in all three shelabim.<sup>250</sup>

Sergeant Barukh presented a well systematized lesson plan for teaching a class in the first shalab. The text Reshit, Parts Aleph and Bet, is used. Each chapter represents a unit of work to be taught in a prescribed time. This plan, with little variation, is used in all three shelabim.<sup>251</sup>

1. Brief review of previously taught material—10 to 15 minutes
2. Preparatory Siha—40 to 45 minutes



3. Reading—15 minutes
4. Oral and written drill of current material—45 to 50 minutes
5. Individual work (at desk, with teacher circulating in room)—  
45 to 55 minutes
6. Concluding Siha—15 to 20 minutes

Because there was a shortage of teachers for the elementary schools in the border settlements and immigrant settlements, the Government arrived at an agreement with the Army, according to which the Army selected from among the recruits enough teachers to instruct the basic education classes in the Army. These recruits were young women who were graduates of teachers' seminaries and who had been permitted to complete their studies before being drafted. After their basic training in the Army, those teachers not needed for Army courses were released to teach elementary grades in the border settlements and the immigrant settlements. The Ministry of Education and Culture has recognized that the years of teaching in the Army shall count toward the teacher's tenure.<sup>252</sup>

At the conclusion of each school year, the graduate teachers are interviewed by the Army educational officers for the purpose of selecting those best qualified to teach in the Army. Then comes the basic army training course. Following this period, the teachers come for a teacher-training workshop to the main army school in Haifa, where they study for a week. The course includes: 1) theoretical principles of teaching every subject; 2) training (in groups) on how to prepare lesson plans, how to submit reports, and so on; 3) practical classroom demonstration lessons; and 4) discussions, exchange of ideas, indepen-



dent research and so on.

Teachers are given a tik ha-moreh (a teacher's portfolio) which contains instructions, forms of all kinds, questionnaires, teaching-aid samples and so forth. With this equipment of the in-service training and the practical aids in the tik, the teacher is commissioned to assume her role as teacher in the army classes.

A "critic" teacher, or supervisor, accompanies the teacher and sits in her class. Guidance, evaluation and direction are given at the end of the first lesson's work, and again at the end of the first week. Thereafter, the teacher appears periodically before a faculty of trained and certified educators to present her work. Teachers carry a card upon which appear comments given regularly by the head of the Basic Education Division. A follow-up of the teacher's progress can thus be achieved.

Teachers are provided with texts, teaching aids and supplies. Inspection of classroom housekeeping and supervision of the teaching and learning processes are constantly being done in the Army school. This is an effective approach and offers a maximum guarantee that the results expected will be achieved.<sup>253</sup>

Basic education and language courses are offered by the Army in immigrant settlements. The students are older men who are in the army reserve force, and who have been selected by their fellow-residents to receive the basic education which lasts for three or four months, four hours daily. A goodly number of these men complete their educational requirements for a certificate.<sup>254</sup>

The Army provides basic education and language courses to the



young men who volunteer to be trained as technicians in the Air Force. These young men are new immigrants who possess an elementary education but lack the skills of the Hebrew language. An ulpan course of six to twelve weeks is given them, with classes of four hours daily and two hours of homework.

The Army also provides language and basic education courses in army prisons. Classes are ungraded because of the small number in each classification.

Aside from the educational program, an elaborate vocational program is conducted by the Ministry of Labor in conjunction with the Army. In addition, the Army conducts an extensive program, under a separate department, for informal activities—clubs, lectures, dances, art exhibits and all sorts of amusements.

The precise educational program of Tzahal has proved extremely beneficial to the State of Israel. Possibly 100,000 young men have profited from it.<sup>255</sup> They are now in the ranks of the citizenry.

The study by Master-Sergeant Zfirah Barukh, which deals also with the programs of education in the British and Danish armies, clearly indicates the substantially greater emphasis placed by the Israeli Army on the basic education of its recruits. The fact that no soldier, except the uneducable ones, leaves the army basic training service without first completing an elementary school education is among the greatest contributions the Army is making in the cultural absorption of the new immigrants and in the concept of "mizzug galuyot."



Chapter XVIII.

ADULT LANGUAGE AND CULTURE EDUCATION AT THE MAKHON LE-MADRIKHE YISRAEL

The Makhon le-Madrikhe Yisrael was opened by the Youth and He-halutz Department of the Zionist Organization immediately after the establishment of the State of Israel in May, 1948. This educational endeavor has as its purpose to "help the adult olim who become affiliated with kibbutzim to integrate themselves linguistically and culturally into their immediate environment of kibbutz life and the larger community of Israel."<sup>256</sup>

At its permanent location in the Baka section of Jerusalem, the Makhon has been conducting classes in fundamental and advanced Hebrew (grammar assuming a substantial proportion of time), modern Hebrew literature, Tanakh and Israeli culture and history. Accelerated one-month mahzorim are held during three months of the year. These mahzorim are conducted in December, January and February. In the course of the last twelve years (from 1948 to 1960), fifty-four mahzorim have been given. In the last one that the writer observed, January 19, 1960, to February 19, 1960, ninety-eight students were enrolled in six classes—two for beginners, three for intermediates and one advanced. Since the inauguration of the program, 4760 students have received the education offered by the Makhon.<sup>257</sup>

When first organized, the Makhon proposed to conduct ten one-month courses each year. In 1949, it convened a meeting of the representatives of Ihud ha-kevutzot ve-kibbutzim and the Youth He-halutz Department to establish a plan and schedule for the Makhon program. The



plan adopted was the following:<sup>258</sup>

1. That the hakshara program conducted abroad include the first steps of language teaching.
2. That upon their arrival in Israel, these members go to their kibbutz locations and after three to six months such young people as deemed qualified to profit by language and culture education, as well as those in need of supplementing their limited knowledge of the language, be exempted from their duties and sent to the Makhon for an intensive program.
3. That the Makhon's proposal to conduct ten one-month mahzorim be reduced to three six-week mahzorim during the months of November, December, January, February and March, since during these months it would be of less hardship to excuse members to leave their work at the kibbutzim.
4. That the curriculum aim toward sharpening the skills of the language arts, communicating the ideals of Israeli culture and experience, and teaching selections of modern Hebrew literature and the Tanakh.

The current organizational structure of the Makhon provides for three intensive one-month mahzorim, offering a maximum of 120 class hours of instruction plus 50 hours of supervised study and social programming.

The budget of the Makhon is shared by the kibbutzim and the Youth and He-halutz Department of the Zionist Organization. The figures of the cost-sharing plan were not available, although the central agency provides the facilities--classrooms and dormitory space.

A detailed course of studies is made available to every teacher at the beginning of the monthly mahzorim.<sup>259</sup> Two days before the opening of each mahzor an orientation meeting is held with Mr. Z. Rubenstein, Director of the Makhon. The teachers are accredited elementary school teachers who taught in the Army during their 2½-year service period. They were attending the Hebrew University to obtain their degrees and to qualify as high school teachers. The teaching day was from 8:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon and from 2:30 to 4:30 p.m.



For every kita specific goals were listed in the curriculum. Pupil texts and teacher references were given. Teaching devices and methods of supervised after-class study were indicated. A daily schedule was included in the course of study for each class.

#### KITA ALEPH

To be eligible for the beginners' classes, students had to have a "passive" vocabulary of at least 100 words and the knowledge of the alphabet. The goals were: a) 800 words and the ability to use them in conversation; b) mechanical reading using the phonetic approach; and c) the ability to write and to fill out applications, reports and questionnaires, and simple letters or invitations.

The textbooks and newspapers used were: Elef Milim, Parts One and Two; La-mathil (vowelled weekly) for the first three weeks; Omer (daily newspaper) for the fourth week; and for independent reading, Ha-tzaad ha-rishon, Aleh le-Yisrael (Part One) and Kibbutz Galuyot.

The requirements for grammar study in Kita Aleph were: a) verb conjugation in all three tenses plus the imperative; the use of suffixes and prefixes to denote tense and gender; the infinitive; b) ability to distinguish the five binyanim (verb structures) -- the kal, nifal, hifil, piel, hitpael, and the basic gizrot (verb classes); c) ability to decline nouns and prepositions; knowledge of the smikhut (construct case); rules of singular and plural, masculine and feminine, for nouns and adjectives; d) ability to distinguish the basic mishkalim (word patterns); e) ability to use he-ha-yedia (the definite article), vav ha-hipur, et, b-, l-, m-, and so on; f) ability to use the rules of enunciation and accent--the milel and milra; g) knowledge of the rules



of the shoresh (the root); and h) knowledge of the basic rules of script writing.

The syllabus for Kita Aleph included statements on aims, independent work outside of class, teaching devices and a daily schedule.

The ability to express oneself orally was considered the chief aim in Makhon education and was given the largest time allocation in the schedule of studies. It is to be noted that the Makhon considered the method of response in unison, the makhela technique<sup>260</sup>, to be sound, and recommended its usage particularly in drill and practice. Spontaneous sihot on given exercises or topics of interest were strongly advocated.

The role of self-study in the preparation of homework was stressed. The curriculum stated that such study forms good work habits and provides the skill to look up information in books other than the main classroom text; and that it trains the mind to find meaning to a sentence from understanding the context without necessarily knowing the definition of every word in the sentence.

The syllabus also recommended word games and simple rhymes and songs as teaching devices.

The six hours of daily classroom instruction were scheduled as follows: reading in books and newspaper--2 hours; review, checking homework, questions and answers on text, narration of assigned lessons, use and drill of new words--1 hour; grammar exercises, oral and written drill of new forms, language games, songs, explanation of work to be assigned--3 hours.



### KITA BET

To be admitted to Kita Bet the student requires a passive vocabulary of 500 words. The goal is the knowledge of 1200 to 1300 active words and the ability to use them in correct grammatical form.

In general, with the progression of each grade, exercise in mechanical reading was reduced and greater emphasis was placed upon reading for comprehension and for better oral and written self-expression. The variety of textual material and secondary texts was increased. The ~~grammar~~ curriculum was the same as in the aleph class.

The daily schedule was as follows: a) reading in books--2 hours; b) reading in newspaper--1 hour; c) review of self-study assignments--1 hour; d) grammar, drill in reading printed and written content, language games and explanation of home assignments--2 hours.

### KITA GIMEL

Students for the gimel class were required to have a passive vocabulary of 800-1200 words, to speak Hebrew haltingly and with frequent grammatical errors. The goal was the knowledge of at least 2000 words to be used actively in conversation and written expression.

The textbooks were Elif Milim, Part 3, Aleh le-Yisrael, Part 2, Tzaad-Tzaad, Parts 1 and 2, and Kibbutz Galuyot. The newspapers read were the Onex and other dailies.

The other curricular requirements were similar to those in kitot aleph and bet. The daily schedule was modified in this manner: a) reading in books--1½ hours; b) reading newspapers--1½ hours; c) review of self-study assignments--1 hour; d) grammar, drill in exercises and so forth--2 hours.



KITOT DALED, HEH AND VAV

In these intermediate and advanced classes, the Hebrew language skills were no longer assigned time on the daily schedule. Instead, modern Hebrew literature and the Tanakh were given 80% of the instructional period. Students were expected to be able to read with fluency the daily unvowelled newspapers, and express themselves orally and in writing. Particular stress was placed upon giving the students opportunities to conduct sihot and to present discussions on current events and other subjects. All the rules of grammar and sentence structure were to be mastered in the Heh and Vav classes.

The textual material for these classes included Ha-tzaad ha-sheni, Mikraot Hadashot (Books 6, 7 & 8), Elef Milim (Part 4); selections from Agnon, Shalom Aleichem, Bialik, Perez, Mendele Mokher S'farim, Asher Barash, Shofman and others; and selections from the Torah and the Early and Later Prophets.

The daily schedule was as follows: a) Hebrew language and literature—3 hours; b) Tanakh, Aggada and Song (Israeli music and liturgical selections)—1 hour; c) language exercises, grammar, sentence structure, correction of homework assignments, explanation of new assignments—2 hours.

The Makhon le-Madrikhe Yisrael demonstrates a fundamental motivation in the philosophy of Hebrew language and culture education in Israel and, more particularly, in the ideology advanced by the He-halutz and Histadrut movements. Obviously, the knowledge of the Hebrew language and the Hebrew sources is not a tool necessary to sharpen the skills of the kibbutzniks in the operation of a tractor, in the growing



of crops and fruits, or in the mechanization of the industrial endeavors of the meshek. Clearly and deliberately, the leadership seeks to equip its younger members with the language and cultural aspects of a regenerated Hebrew society, so that they will be enriched in their personal lives and can communicate this knowledge and culture to others.

Although the Makhon education touches the lives of a comparatively small number, their impact upon their home kibbutzim has been substantiated. According to Mr. Rubenstein, the Makhon's director, these young men and women have become involved in the cultural and recreational activities of the kibbutz. They also have assisted the work-ulpanim teachers--if work-ulpanim operated in their kibbutzim--in the supervised study programs for the newly-arrived members.

The head teacher of the Makhon, Mr. Manahem Ragav, told the writer that if facilities and budget were available the enrollment at each mahzor would be increased to 250 or 300 students. "The kibbutz leadership is asking for more admissions," he said, "but we cannot accomodate more under the present conditions."



Chapter XIX.

SUMMARY

With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and the mass arrival of hundreds of thousands of homeless and destitute immigrants from all parts of the world, the leaders of the new state were confronted with overwhelming problems. In the first three-and-one-half years of the state's existence, the population doubled. By 1960, approximately one million immigrants had come to Israel to reconstruct their lives in a new environment. The immediate task of the government of Israel was to provide these olim with housing, food, employment, medical and social welfare care, and security in an area surrounded by hostile neighbors. Complicating this situation was the fact that the immigrants spoke a babel of tongues, and many of them were illiterate or semi-literate and lacking in the rudiments of general education. Even the educated among the adult olim did not possess the knowledge of the Hebrew language and Israeli culture. The government was faced with the challenge of providing learning opportunities for all of them, in order to effect their speedy integration into the social and economic life of the country. How the State of Israel met this educational challenge during the first twelve years of its existence has been the subject of Part III of this dissertation.

From May 15, 1948, to December 1, 1949, the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi continued to function as the Department of Culture in the new Ministry of Education and Culture. On the latter date a reorganization took place and the present Mahleket le-hanhalat ha-lashon we-



haskalat ha-am (Department for Language Teaching and Culture Education of the People) was established. The early recognition by the Government of Israel that the Hebrew language and culture education of the adult olim and watikim was its direct responsibility constituted a major contribution of this period.

The directors of the Department for Language Teaching have been among the outstanding educators of the country. They were dedicated to the task of Hebraizing the Jewish State, and each one strove to further this objective in accordance with the conditions and circumstances which existed in the land during his term of office. The Ministers of Education and Culture during this period—Mr. Zalman Shazar, now President of the State of Israel (1963); Mr. Moshe Sharett, a former Prime Minister of the State; Professor Benzion Dinur, eminent scholar; Mr. Zalman Aranne, the present Minister of Education and Culture (1963); and Mr. Abba Eban, former Israeli Ambassador to the United States and to the United Nations—each lent his influence and support to the task of the cultural and linguistic integration of the immigrants.

The primary achievement of this period was the creation and development of the ulpan system of education, beginning with Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem in 1949. This educational enterprise included the intensive 30-hour per week ulpanim, in which the majority of the students lived in dormitories connected with the school; the 24-hour per week ulpane-avoda (work ulpanim) in the kibbutzim and kvutzot for young olim who wished to settle on the land; and the less intensive ulpaniot in urban and rural locations. The ulpan system was evolved to meet the need of teaching the Hebrew language and culture to the adult olim in the



shortest possible time.

The intensive ulpanim were a departure from any type of adult classes that had existed before, in that they were geared especially for professional and white-collar workers who possessed skills urgently needed by the new state, but who required a knowledge of the Hebrew language and culture in order to perform those skills. Similarly, the work ulpanim were unique in that they offered a highly concentrated period of study to young adult olim at the same time that they were working on the land and learning skills related to the meshek. It is estimated that by 1960 approximately 35,000 adults had completed the five-to-six-month course of study (580-600 hours) in the intensive and work ulpanim, and are now contributing to the professional, economic, cultural and social life of the state.

Although the less intensive ulpanim (ulpaniot) were not radically different from the pre-state evening language classes, they nevertheless attained higher achievements since they benefited from the unified goals, standardized curriculum, specially-trained teachers for adults and newer methods of instruction of the overall system under the direction and supervision of the Department for Language Teaching.

The progress recorded in the program of language and culture education during this period was due in large measure to the standardized curriculum, which was developed by experimentation in Ulpan Etzion and Ulpan Motzkin and was adopted in 1952 for all ulpanim, (with the exception of Ulpan Akiba). This curriculum was revised in 1956 and again in 1958, with minor changes. The goals of the curriculum are the same for all the ulpanim; the major difference is in the length of time required



to achieve them. These goals are attainable to a large degree.

The publication of suitable textbooks for adult learners, the development of specialized teaching aids, the education of teachers for adults and the experimentation with methods of instruction have all figured in the evolvement and success of the ulpan program. In the opinion of authorities connected with adult language and culture education in Israel, this success can also be attributed to the competency, devotion and dedication of the principals and teachers of the ulpanim.

The need to educate special teachers for adult learners was felt at the outset of this period and resulted in the establishment of the Bet Midrash le-More Am, which operated for four years from 1949 to 1953 and graduated 250 teachers. The Bet Midrash was a joint undertaking of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Centre for Popular Education of the Hebrew University, and the Jewish Agency. Notwithstanding the fact that the course of study and the philosophy of education of this school were considered somewhat impractical for its intended purpose by certain educators, the Bet Midrash nevertheless made a vital contribution in that it experimented with curricula, provided opportunities for practice teaching in the ulpanim, and indeed made available to the country a large supply of certified teachers. It was the only school during this period which operated exclusively for the training of teachers for adult language and culture education.

In 1957 the government opened a school in Beersheba, the Midrasha Mamlakhtit le-Hinukh ba-Negev, which offered a combined program leading to teacher certification for elementary and adult education. This school is still in existence. By 1960, two other teachers' seminaries



offered optional courses in adult education. The writer learned from Dr. Shlomo Kodesh that at the present time (July, 1963) eighteen seminaries for elementary teachers are offering courses in adult language and culture education as electives in the final (second) year of study. An attempt to make such courses part of the required curriculum in all teachers' seminaries has not met with success.

In the early years of the state, teachers of adults were not given the same recognition as were elementary school teachers in terms of hiring procedures, salary, tenure and fringe benefits. They were poorly organized and were not included in the category of government workers. From 1951 to 1955 they remained their own bargaining agents. Their unsatisfactory status caused many of them to leave the field. It was not until late in this period (1957-1959) that gains were finally made in the professional status of teachers in the intensive ulpanim which put them on a par with elementary school teachers. By 1960, teachers in the less intensive ulpanot were still struggling for their rights. However, according to Dr. Kodesh (July, 1963), at the present time all teachers of adults have been recognized and their working conditions are comparable to those of the elementary school teachers.

The existence of mass illiteracy, and the lack of general basic education among large segments of the population, posed a serious problem to the Department for Language Teaching, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Histadrut. To combat this social blight, the Department launched two nationwide projects aimed at providing basic language and general education to the masses. These were the Mivtza le-hanhalat ha-lashon of 1954/55 and the Mivtza le-hisul ha-baarut of



1958/59. Thousands of volunteer teachers were enlisted to implement these projects, which were given wide promotion and publicity. It was reported that approximately 40,000 adult learners availed themselves of these classes. The leaders of the campaigns expressed satisfaction with the results, but noted several serious weaknesses. Among these were the inability to recruit sufficient volunteer teachers who would be willing to devote regular hours to teaching and to travel to outlying locations; the lack of competency and experience in the volunteer teachers; the shortage of organizers and supervisors for the classes; and the fact that not enough people were reached because of the unwillingness on the part of many olim and watikim to enroll in the classes or to have a volunteer teacher come into their homes. Illiteracy still remains a major educational problem in the state.

The financial difficulties which plagued the Department of Culture in the Vaad Leumi days were inherited by the Department for Language Teaching and continued to be a source of much vexation during this period. We have noted a steady interchange of communications between the Department, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Treasury, in which the Department accused the government of being indifferent and unsympathetic to the needs of adult language and culture education and, conversely, the Department for Language Teaching was accused of being unrealistic in its requests for funds. It is undoubtedly true that more could have been accomplished by the Department, had the money been readily available. On the other hand, while the government obviously had to concentrate on its more urgent needs of defense, housing, economic development, elementary education, and so forth, it did not in



any year neglect its responsibility to allocate funds for hanhalat ha-lashon. In fact, these funds were steadily increased from an actual budget of 155,000 L. I. in 1950/51 (page 233) to 991,000 L. I. in 1958/59 (page 306).

In the early years of the State of Israel, the Ministry of Education and Culture financed practically the entire budget of hanhalat ha-lashon, with central direction. In the course of the years, a cost-sharing formula was introduced. At the present time, the government, through the Ministry of Education and Culture, allocates between 40% and 80% of the total cost of adult education, depending upon the financial ability of the schools' sponsors. The balance is borne by the Jewish Agency, the Histadrut, or the local authorities (city councils and culture councils in towns, villages and immigrant settlements). This division of financial responsibility has frequently presented serious problems, such as failure of the local authorities to meet their share of the cost, interruption in standardized supervision, and disagreements in hiring procedures and teacher placements. In general, funds have been allocated on the basis of emergency needs and "one-time" grants. Sudden spurts in immigration always brought a liberal response from the Treasury. The directors of the Department and the proponents of hanhalat ha-lashon among the Histadrut leadership have fought this kind of financing because it did not permit long-range planning and a sustained program.

In the process of acculturation and integration of the young adult olim, the Israel Army is playing a most significant role. Its basic educational program is mandatory for all recruits requiring it, and no



young person leaves the army without the equivalent of an elementary education. It has been estimated that over 100,000 soldiers have had the benefit of the Army's basic education program, which, under army regulations and discipline, has produced an approach to the teaching of the language and textual materials of such high caliber that they are being adapted to civilian use.

A limited but noteworthy contribution to the linguistic and cultural integration of the immigrants in Israel has been made by the Makhon le-Madrikhe Yisrael. This institute is operated by the Youth and Hehalutz Department of the Zionist Organization in cooperation with the kibbutzim. It aims at the dissemination of the Hebrew language and culture among the young adult olim who are working in the collective settlements. The educational program of the Makhon is geared to preparing these young men and women to assume positions of responsibility and leadership in the cultural life of their kibbutzim. From the time of its inception in 1948 until the present, approximately five thousand students have attended the classes at the Makhon.

In summation, the overall accomplishments of this twelve-year period in the field of Hebrew language and culture education for olim and watikim have been impressive, especially in light of the many other problems of integration and absorption faced by the young state. Nevertheless, the fact remains that only 60% of the adults in Israel speak Hebrew, and 150,000 residents are still illiterate in any language. Confronting the Government of Israel today--as in 1948--is the challenge of fulfilling one of the avowed aims of the state, that the Hebrew language become the one national language for all of the population.



NOTES TO PART III

1. Din we-heshbon, Vaad Leumi li-Knesset Yisrael, Jerusalem, 1949, 23 pp. (Private collection of Mr. Moshe Attias)
2. The discrepancy in the dates, May 14 and May 15, is the result of the time difference between Israel and the United States at the time the announcement was made.
3. Din we-heshbon, Vaad Leumi li-Knesset Yisrael, Jerusalem, 1949, p. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 13.
5. Ibid., p. 21.
6. A. Arnon, "Toldot ha-hinukh ha-ivri he-hadash be-Eretz Yisrael," Hebrew Encyclopedia, Jerusalem, 1957, pp. 983-996.
7. Israel was recognized by the United States on May 15, 1948, and by the U.S.S.R. two days later on May 17. On May 11, 1949, she was admitted to the United Nations. (Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 12, pp. 731-732.)
8. Abraham A. Weinberg, "Problems of Adjustment of New Immigrants to Israel," World Mental Health, Vol. 5, Nos. 2 and 3, May and August, 1953, p. 4.
9. Comments made by Mrs. Apenshlak during the writer's interview with her on September 27, 1959. Mrs. Paula Apenshlak has been serving as the director of the Ulpanim Division of the Department of Absorption, Jewish Agency, since 1952.
10. Weinberg, op. cit., pp. 4-5.
11. Joseph Shaked, "The Education of New Immigrant Workers in Israel," Educational Studies and Documents, No. XVI, UNESCO, Paris, 1955, p. 32. Mr. Shaked was the Director of the Department for Language Teaching and Education of the Ministry of Education and Culture during the 1954-1957 period.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Israel Government Yearbook, Government Printing Press, Jerusalem, 1950, p. 98.
15. Nahum Levin, Skirah tamzilit al megamatah, peulatah, we-tohnitah shel ha-mahlakah (Digest of report on the purposes, activities and plans of the Department), Ministry of Education and Culture, State of Israel, Tel Aviv, 1950, 22 pp.
16. The first intensive ulpan was opened in Jerusalem in October, 1949. (See Chapter IV, p. 188.)



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17. Nahum Levin, op. cit., p. 7.
18. A detailed account of Ulpan Etzion will be given in Chapter IV.
19. Copies of the Prozdor are in the writer's possession. It was a most arduous task to locate this magazine and to receive permission to keep several copies for reference.
20. Nahum Levin, op. cit., pp. 17-20.
21. Zikhron d'varim, Digest of meeting of Committee on Organization of an Ulpan in Jerusalem, August 8, 1949, files of Department of Absorption, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 2 pp.
22. Ibid., pp. 1-4.
23. Zikhron d'varim, Digest of meeting held on September 4, 1949, Department of Absorption files, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem.
24. The name "Ohaliva" suggested by Professor Dinur and accepted by the committee was not used; instead, the name "Etzion" was adopted. Mrs. Shoshanah Eton, the principal of Ulpan Etzion during Dr. Kamrat's assignment in the United States (Sept. 1959-July 1960), explained the use of the name "Etzion:"  

A valiant resistance was made during the War of Liberation in 1948 by a group of young Israelis at the Etzion settlement near Hebron when Arabs attacked the settlement and slew most of the small number of defenders. The father of one of the young men who fell defending the settlement suggested that the first ulpan, which stood for the peaceful rehabilitation of Israel, should adopt the name Etzion.

For this reason, and also because Etzion (Geber) was an important outpost in the Negev (mentioned in the Bible), the committee on organization and the Ulpan management adopted the name. It has been used ever since.
25. Zikhron d'varim, Digest of meeting held September 27, 1949, Department of Absorption files, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem.
26. Mordecai Kamrat, Din ve-heshbon al ha-peulah ha-pedagogit, for the period through November, 1949, Files of the Department of Absorption, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 4 pp.
27. Ibid.
28. This procedure has been followed to the present time. The writer was in attendance at several sessions at Ulpan Akiba in Netanya, at which representatives from the Department of Labor came to speak to the students about job opportunities and procedures for applying. Dr. Shlomo Kodesh, Director of the Department for Lang-



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- uage Teaching, told the writer that other ulpanim also schedule visits by Department of Labor representatives and spokesmen for the Department of Absorption and Placement of the Jewish Agency.
29. Notification by the Mador le-otipul ba-oleh (Division for the care of the immigrant) to the Office of Employment, Department of Labor, December 17, 1949, Department of Absorption Files, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem.
  30. Letter to Dr. A. Elkanah from the Mador le-tipul ba-oleh, December 18, 1949, Department of Absorption Files, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem.
  31. Mordecai Kamrat, "Divre sikum we-hazaot ahadot likrat ha-mahzor haba she-ba-ulpan be-yerushalayim" (A concluding statement and a few suggestions for the next mahzor of the ulpan in Jerusalem), January 10, 1950. Except for the personal collection of Dr. Kamrat, no source other than the Department of Absorption files in Jerusalem has a copy of this statement (librarian's opinion).
  32. Ibid.
  33. "Sidur talmide ha-mahzor ha-rishon shel ha-ulpan le-ivrit be-yerushalayim" (Student placement in the first mahzor of the Ulpan for Hebrew in Jerusalem), February 14, 1950, Department of Absorption Files.
  34. The Department for Language Teaching will be discussed in Chapter VI. The formula for the joint financing of ulpanim, begun in 1949, is still being followed, except at Ulpan Akiba in Netanya. There, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Department of Education and Culture for the Diaspora of the Jewish Agency are jointly subsidizing the Ulpan. The relatively high fees for tuition, board and room make up the total budget.
  35. Frances Gunther, "Ulpan Etzion--A Unique Educational Institution," Jerusalem Post, April 6, 1950.
  36. Opinions expressed by Mr. Joseph Shaked, Dr. David Marani and Professor Abraham Ibn Shushan, during interviews with the writer, attest to these conclusions.
  37. Graduation Program of Bet Midrash le-more Am, Hebrew University Archives, Centre of Popular Education Files, Jerusalem, November 26, 1950. Professor Buber's speech at graduation.
  38. Martin Mordecai Buber, "Hinukh Mibugarim" (Education of Adults), Ha-moled, Nos. 23-24, Jan.-Feb. 1950, pp. 17-23.  
Hinukh Mibugarim  
"Leket Maamarim be-baayot hinukh mebugarim uwe-darkhei hanhalat ha-lashon," Centre for Popular Education, Hebrew Univer-  
School of Education of the



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- sity, and Department for Language Teaching, Ministry of Education and Culture, July 1958, Jerusalem, pp. 1-9.
39. Martin Mordecai Buber, "A New Venture in Adult Education," Semi-Jubilee Volume, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1925-1950, Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem, pp. 115-119.
  40. Simha Assaf, Letter to Martin Buber, June 17, 1949, Files of School of Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Archive Section).
  41. Martin Mordecai Buber, "Memorandum on Seminary for Adult Teachers," Files of School of Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 8 pp.
  42. Ibid.
  43. "Yeshivat ha-vaad ha-menahel shel ha-merkaz," Sept. 29, 1949, Files of School of Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
  44. "Bet Midrash le-more Am, Shenat limudim, 1949-50," Hebrew University Centre for Popular Education files.
  45. Gideon Freudenberg, Report of budget request sent to Sh. Briman of the Jewish Agency and Y. Avreh of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Centre for Popular Education files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
  46. "Toknit ha-miktzaot, Bet Midrash le-more Am," December, 1949, Centre of Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
  47. Gideon Freudenberg, Progress Report on Bet Midrash Enrollment and Operation, December 18, 1949, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
  48. \_\_\_\_\_, Memorandum to Professor Buber, December 22, 1949, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
  49. Y. Avreh, Letter to Dr. Freudenberg, January 22, 1950, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
  50. Gideon Freudenberg, Letter to Y. Avreh, February 1, 1950, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
  51. Graduation Program of Bet Midrash le-more Am, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University Archives, Jerusalem, November 26, 1950.
  52. Summer Seminar at Bet Lid, Office Bulletin, Bet Midrash le-more Am Files, Jerusalem, December 10, 1950.
  53. Bet Midrash, Second Mahzor, Enrollment and Opening Date, Centre



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for Popular Education Files, December 8, 1950.

54. "Bet Midrash le-more Am--Takhnito we-Tokhnito (Its Purpose and Program)--Medinat Yisrael," Ministry of Education and Culture and Centre for Popular Education of Hebrew University, 1950/51, Catalogue, 8 pp. Sivan, 1951. (This was the only published catalogue available. The writer was advised by the archives librarian that this catalogue was also used in the two succeeding years.)
55. "Pegisha be-irgun shituf ha-peulah," (Meeting to organize a co-operative plan for operation) March 3, 1951, Bet Midrash le-more Am files, Centre for Popular Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
56. Bet Midrash le-more Am in its Third Year, Statement of Statistics, November 11, 1951, Centre Files #1013.
57. "Ha-taktsiv lishnat limudim 1952/53," Budget submitted June 7, 1952, to the Executive Council of the Bet Midrash le-More Am by Dr. Gideon Freudenberg, Administrator of the Seminary, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
58. Ibid.
59. Gideon Freudenberg, Statistical Report of the Three-year Operation of the Bet Midrash le-More Am, June 17, 1952, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
60. Enrollment and Classification of Students in the 4th Year of the Bet Midrash, November 18, 1952, Centre for Popular Education files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
61. Minutes of Organization Meeting, April 25, 1952, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
62. Pension Friedman proprietor's letter to treasurer of Hebrew University, November 11, 1952, Centre file #1110.
63. "Hatzaat tokhnit li-peulot Bet Midrash le-more Am lishnat 1953/1954," (Proposed plan for Operation of Seminary for 1953/54), April 2, 1953, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, and Archives of Ministry of Education and Culture (labelled "Bet Midrash").
64. A. Rappaport, Letter to Dr. Sh. Briman, June 6, 1953, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
65. Sh. Briman, Letter to Dr. Alexander Dushkin, June 28, 1953, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.



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66. Gideon Freudenberg, "Din we-heshbon benayim al peulot Bet ha-midrash le-more am be-Acco," (Progress report of activity of the Bet Midrash in Acre), July 30, 1953, Files of Bet Midrash, Jerusalem.
67. Commencement Exercises of Fourth Year of the Bet Midrash le-More Am, August 26, 1953, Centre for Popular Education Files, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
68. S. Ravitsky, Letter to M. Avidor, December 12, 1953, Inter-office files of Ministry of Education and Culture.
69. Interview with Professor Abraham Ibn Shushan on November 13, 1959. During part of the period when the Bet Midrash was in operation, Professor Ibn Shushan occupied the post of Director of the Department for Language Teaching of the Ministry of Education and Culture.  
  
Interview with Dr. Gideon Freudenberg, October 10, 1959.
70. Joseph Shaked, op. cit., p. 39.
71. The three letters were in a special file labelled "The beginnings of the Department for Language Teaching, Ministry of Education and Culture." Permission to read the correspondence and to use its contents in this study was given the writer by Dr. Moshe Avidor, former Director-General of the Ministry of Education and Culture. On November 10, 1950, when the file was used by the writer, Dr. Avidor was still occupying this post.  
  
Y. Avrekh, Letters to Nahum Levin, April 4, 1949; May 5, 1949; and August 8, 1949.
72. Tik No. 312, 1949-50, Hanhalat ha-lashon files, Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem.
73. Inter-office memorandum, Ministry of Education and Culture Files, May-June, 1949.
74. Mr. Shaked, commenting on the rapid succession of events which led to the separation of functions of the all-inclusive Language and Culture Department, told the writer that the action of the Ministry was arbitrary and that it surrendered to "terrific pressure" from the religious members of the Knesset, who demanded an inquiry into the effectiveness and operation of the Department under Mr. Levin's directorship.  
  
The inquiry probed into the reports that Mr. Levin had denied the immigrant children in the maabarot and immigrant settlements the opportunity of being taught by religious teachers. Other accusations were that Mr. Levin had deliberately discriminated against the orthodox elements and their practices.



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The inquiry was held in Jerusalem in 1950. Mr. Shaked was a member of the inquiry committee. He commented that the evidence presented was a distortion of facts and that the accusers, under examination, gave different versions of the testimony. Nevertheless, the verdict upheld the allegations made against Mr. Levin. The slander directed against him and the biased verdict issued "broke his spirit" and within a few months he resigned his post as director of the Department, a cause which he had served so faithfully and ably since 1938 when he assumed the position of National Supervisor of the Culture Department of the Vaad Leumi.

The Jerusalem Post responded to an enraged public opinion about Mr. Levin's "seeming dismissal" in an editorial published on June 15, 1950, in which the editor expressed surprise and disappointment at Mr. Levin's sudden resignation and at the "innocuous" reasons given for his resignation. The editorial stated, in part:

"...The resignation of Nahum Levin from the Government Education Department came as a shock, since we have known of Mr. Levin's deep devotion and dedication to the cause of the Hebrew language and its importance to the life of the Yishuv. It was his vision and non-compromise which brought the Government to assume its responsibility in disseminating the Hebrew language and culture in the land..."

75. Levi Eshkol, Memorandum to Zalman Shazar, Minister of Education and Culture, Ministry files, 1949/50.
76. Government Yearbook, 1951, p. 86.
77. Hatsaat Taktziv Lishnat 1950/51, Department of Language Teaching organization file, Archives of Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of Israel, Jerusalem.
78. Ibid.
79. Hazer ha-mahlakah, Department of Language Teaching Files, October, 1950.
80. Hatsaat Taktziv Lishnat 1951/52, Department for Language Teaching files, Government of Israel, Jerusalem.
81. In 1949/50, Mr. Louis Shuval suggested to Mr. Zalman Shazar, then Minister of Education and Culture, to organize an intensive ulpan for professional olim in a hotel on Mt. Canaan, Safed. The plan was approved and an amount of 10,000 L.I. was allocated. Mr. Shuval became the administrative manager of the ulpan, engaging personnel and setting up a curriculum using the methods of language teaching employed by the U. S. Army in 1943-45. Mr. Shuval later



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organized Ulpan Yehuda in Jerusalem. At the time of his death in 1960, he was Director of the Hillel House in Jerusalem.

82. Y. Avrekh, Letter to Shmuel Yavnieli, May 30, 1951, Ministry of Education and Culture files, Jerusalem.
  83. A. Rifon, Letter to Y. Avrekh, May 31, 1950, Ministry of Education and Culture Files, Jerusalem.
  84. Information obtained at interview with Mr. Yavnieli, Jan. 16, 1960.
  85. Y. Avrekh, Letter to Shmuel Yavnieli, May 30, 1951, Ministry of Education and Culture files, Jerusalem.
  86. Government Yearbook, 1951, p. 87.
  87. Moshe Sharett, Letter to Shmuel Yavnieli, September 16, 1951, Ministry of Education and Culture Files, Jerusalem.
  88. Hatzaat Taktziv Lishnat 1951/52--October 1, 1951-March 31, 1952, Department of Language Teaching Files, Ministry Archives, Jerusalem.
  89. Eliezer Rieger, Letter to Shmuel Yavnieli, December 12, 1951, Ministry Files, Jerusalem.
  90. Hatzaat Taktziv Lishnat 1952/53--Medinat Yisrael, Misrad ha-hinukh we-ha-tarbut, Jerusalem (160 pp.) pp. 47,48.
  91. Joseph Shaked, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
  92. Ibid., p. 35.
- Israel National Commission for UNESCO, "Israel", The Teaching of Modern Languages, Unesco, June 1955, Paris, pp. 230-242 (p. 240).
93. Data obtained from Mrs. Levenhartz during interviews with her and visits to classes at Ulpan Motzkin, February 3-5, 1960. Mrs. Levenhartz has served as principal of this ulpan since its inception. She is particularly acclaimed as the one responsible for implanting a "sense of belonging" in the ulpanists at Motzkin.
  94. Enrollment Files of Ulpanim, Department of Absorption of Jewish Agency Files, Jerusalem, 1951.
  95. Ibid., Table II.
  96. Government Yearbook, 1950/51, p. 116.
  97. Z. Klein, Letter to Director of Department of Absorption, Jewish



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Agency, Jerusalem, October 10, 1950.

98. Ibid.

99. Takkir Moetzet Poale Yisrael, (Memorandum), December 22, 1950, Department of Absorption Files, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem.

100. Our Ulpanim in 1950/51, Agaf ha-Ulpanim, Department of Absorption, Jewish Agency, Tel Aviv.

101. Government Yearbook, 1950/51, p. 87.

102. Estimate given by Dr. David Marani, Supervisor and Consultant to the Department for Language Teaching. Dr. Marani has been in the forefront of hanhalat ha-lashon since its appearance on the Israeli scene. Prior to that, he was the secretary of the Culture Council of the Histadrut in Haifa.

103. Y. L. Grodzinsky, "More Am be-Yisrael," Ha-poel Ha-tzair, February 14, 1951, Tel Aviv.

104. Dr. Nardi was Director of the Department for Language Teaching for a very brief period only, on a temporary appointment, following the resignation of Mr. Levin.

105. Yediot Misrad ha-Hinukh ve-ha-Tarbut, Tishri, 1950, Madinat Yisrael, Jerusalem, p. 68.

106. Frances Gunther, "Salaries for Ulpan Teachers," Jerusalem Post, May 1, 1951.

107. Memorandum from the Ministry of Education and Culture to the Department for Language Teaching, June 17, 1951, Department for Language Teaching Files, Ministry Archives, Jerusalem.

108. Ulpan Organization Files, Stack No. 117, Ministry of Education and Culture Archives Section, Jerusalem.

109. "Nahariya ba-ulpanim," editorial in Ha-aretz, December 15, 1951.

110. Din ve-heshbon be-hanhalat ha-lashon, Yediot Misrad ha-hinukh, 1951/52, p. 89.

111. Government Yearbook, 1952/53, pp. 91-95.

112. "Ulpanim Report," Jerusalem Post, March 28, 1952.

113. Interview with Mr. Shuval, October 18, 1959.

114. Interview with Dr. David Marani on October 10, 1959.



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115. Statistical Abstract--Government of Israel, The Central Bureau of Statistics and Economic Research, No. 5, September, 1954, (220 pp.) p. 201. *Jerusalem.*

116. Ibid., p. 205.

117. Ibid., p. 203.

118. "Israel," The Teaching of Modern Languages, pp. 238-239.

During the 1951/52 school year, the syllabus of the Department was used experimentally in Ulpan Etzion and Ulpan Motzkin.

119. Government Yearbook, 1953/54, p. 84.

120. Hatzaat ha-taktziv lishnat 1953/54, Ministry of Education and Culture, (173 pp.) p. 51.

121. Ibid., p. 53.

122. Knesset Minutes, Journal No. 19, February 17, 1949, p. 296, 297.

123. Ibid., pp. 173-178. In March, 1951, Mr. Rosen served temporarily as Minister of Education & Culture. He later became Minister of Justice.

124. A. Levinson (ed.), Orot, The Centre for Culture, General Federation of Labor in Eretz Yisrael, Tel Aviv, 1950, (265 pp.), pp. 104-107.

125. David Remez, Address at Conference of Culture Workers in Tel Aviv, April 8, 1951.

126. Joseph Shapiro, discussant at Conference.

127. Joseph Shapiro, Tarbut le-moshave olim (Culture for Immigrant Settlements), Ha-poel Ha-tzair Press, Tel Aviv, 1950 (48 pp.), pp. 7-13.

128. Bezalel Shazar, Address before culture workers, Federation of Workers in Eretz Yisrael, Tel Aviv, May 28, 1952, (10 pp.) pp. 1-10.

129. Shmuel Yavnieli, "Limnea Kipuah Haraat ha-safah ha-ivrit," Davar, December 19, 1951, p. 2.

130. Government Yearbook, 1952/53, pp. 92-93.

131. Shmuel Yavnieli, "Im Kinrus ha-irgunim mitaam hever peilei ha-lashon we-ha-tarbut ha-ivrit," Davar, January 14, 1953.

132. Joseph Shaked, op. cit., p. 42.

133. Benzion Dimur, "Yalkut ha-mivtza le-hanhalat ha-lashon la-am," Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem, 1954 (11 pp.), p. 2.



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134. Moshe Avidor, "Hozer lishnat ha-limud, 1955," Medinat Yisrael, Misrad ha-hinukh, Elul 21, 1954.
135. Yitzhak Ben Zvi, declaration in "Yalkut ha-mivtza le-hanhalat ha-lashon la-am," op. cit., p. 3.
136. "Yalkut ha-mivtza ...," op. cit., p. 4.
137. Joseph Shaked, op. cit., pp 40.
138. Shenaton ha-memshalah lishnat tashtav, 1955, p. 92.
139. Joseph Shaked, Letter to Sh. Ravitzky, April 5, 1954, Ministry of Education Files—1954/55, Ministry Archives, Jerusalem.
140. \_\_\_\_\_, "The Education of New Immigrant Workers in Israel," p. 42.
141. Ibid., p. 36.
142. "Histadrut Workers' Schools," a report given at the International Seminar on Adult Workers Education in Tel Aviv in 1958. A private copy of this report was obtained by the writer from Mrs. Rachel Grabelsky, principal of the Workers' School in Jerusalem.  
 The writer sat in classes of the school on November 29 and 30, 1959. Classes were held four nights a week for adults who wished to obtain fundamental education leading to an elementary school diploma after a period of three years. The curriculum consisted of the Hebrew language arts, civics, arithmetic, Tanakh, geography of Israel and the neighboring countries, and singing. Among the students in the classes observed were five young Arabs from the Abu Shosh village in the Jerusalem region. The Jewish students included men and women from Iraq, Algiers, Morocco and Iran. The classroom facilities were poor; no heat was provided. The seats were small, since classes were held in an elementary school (David Yellin School).  
 The writer asked a student: "Why are you attending classes, so far from your home?" (He had travelled by bus for two hours.) The student replied: "I came from Morocco three years ago. I have four children. I need a better job and a better dora (housing). When I can show the Misrad ha-avoda (the Labor Center) that I have an education, they'll give me a better job."
143. "Hatzaat taktziv lishnat 1954/55," Ministry of Education and Culture, (April 1, 1954—March 31, 1955), p. 142.
144. Shenaton ha-memshalah lishnat tashtav, p. 123.
145. Ibid., pp. 123-124.
146. Joseph Shaked, "The Education of New Immigrant Workers in Israel," p. 39.



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147. Ba-ulpanim, a monthly journal issued by the Department of Language Teaching and the Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency, June, 1955, p. 16.
148. Interviews with teachers at kibbutzim Gezer and Dafna.
149. Ulpan Akiba caters to persons not considered by the Jewish Agency as entitled to subsidy in accordance with its principle of "absorption of new immigrants." This ulpan is known as a Government Ulpan and consequently receives an allocation from the Ministry of Education and Culture to pay for the teaching staff.
150. Ba-ulpanim, June, 1955, p. 9.
151. Ba-ulpanim, November-December, 1956, p. 7.
152. "Taktziv ha-mahlaka le-hanhalat ha-lashon," Shenaton ha-memshalah, 1955/56, p. 138.
153. Ibid., p. 139.
154. Ibid., pp. 140-141.
155. Paula Apenshlak, "Ha-ulpanim ve-ha-aliya," Ba-ulpanim, June, 1955, pp. 2-3.
156. Esther Levenharz, "Ha-ulpan mosad shel keva," Ba-ulpanim, June, 1955, pp. 5-6.
157. Joseph Shaked, Letter to J. Katznelbogen, February 5, 1956, Department of Language Teaching Files, Ministry of Education and Culture Archives, Jerusalem.
158. "Taktziv ha-mahlakah lishnat 1956/57," Ministry of Education and Culture, Medinat Yisrael, Jerusalem, April, 1956, p. 201.
159. Ibid.
160. Shenaton ha-memshalah lishnat 1956/57, p. 72.
161. Moshe Segal, "Al nega ha-neshirah ba-ulpanim," Ba-ulpanim, November-December, 1956, pp. 4-5.
162. Ibid., p. 5.
163. Interview with Moshe Attias.
164. Gleanings from newspaper reports in Ha-aretz and Davar, April 10, 1956; also from information given the writer by Mr. Louis Shuval whose knowledge was based, he said, on "unimpeachable sources."
165. "Yisrael ba-misparim," Measef Yisrael lishnat he-asor, Measef Publishers, Tel Aviv, 1959, p. 180.



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166. Yitzhak Mandaror, "Al hovat limud ha-lashon ha-ivrit," Hapoel Hatzair, January 14, 1957, p. 10.
167. Y. L. Gredzinsky, "Hovatemu kelape ha-olim ha-hadashim," Hapoel Hatzair, April 23, 1957, p. 5.
168. Moshe Avidor, Memorandum to the Treasury Department, May 31, 1957, Ministry of Education and Culture Archives, Jerusalem.
169. David Bergman, "Zikhron d'varim" to Moshe Avidor, August 8, 1957, Ministry of Education and Culture Archives, Jerusalem.
170. Y. L. Gredzinsky, "Taktziv mahleket ha-lashon," Davar, August 18, 1957.
171. Shmuel Yavnieli, "Tsorekh she-lo ba al sipuke," Hapoel Hatzair, Sept. 22, 1957, pp. 5-6.
172. Shlomo Kodesh, "Baayot udrakhim ba-hanhalat ha-lashon," Ba-hinukh u-va-tarbut, Ministry of Education and Culture Journal, No. 1-2, January, 1958, pp. 23-26.
173. \_\_\_\_\_, Memorandum to Zalman Aranne, Minister of Education, September 23, 1957, Ministry of Education and Culture Archives, Jerusalem.
174. A. Katznelbogen, Letter to Shlomo Kodesh, October 17, 1957, Ministry of Education and Culture Archives, Jerusalem.
175. Ibid.
176. Shlomo Kodesh, Memorandum to A. Katznelbogen, January 5, 1958, Ministry of Education and Culture Archives, Jerusalem.
177. Ba-ulpanim, December, 1957, pp. 1-6. Foreword by editor Paula Apenshlak.
178. Ibid.
179. Government Tourist Corporation--Report, Medinat Yisrael, 1957/58, p. 9.
180. Shlomo Kodesh, Letter to Zalman Aranne, January 16, 1958, Correspondence File, Ministry Archives, Jerusalem.
181. \_\_\_\_\_, Letter to J. Benor, February 18, 1958, Correspondence File, Ministry Archives, Jerusalem.
182. \_\_\_\_\_, Letter to Zalman Aranne, February 24, 1958, Correspondence File, Ministry Archives, Jerusalem.



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183. A. Katznelbogen, Letter to Sh. Torokover, April 14, 1958, Correspondence File, Ministry Archives, Jerusalem.
184. \_\_\_\_\_, Letter to Treasury Department, May 20, 1958, Correspondence File, Ministry Archives, Jerusalem.
185. Sh. Torokover, Letter to A. Katznelbogen, July 1, 1958, Correspondence File, Ministry Archives, Jerusalem.
186. Shlomo Kodesh, "Maaneh davar," July 15, 1958, Department of Language Teaching Files, Jerusalem.
187. \_\_\_\_\_, Reply to Minister of Education and Culture, September 4, 1958, Ministry of Education and Culture Files, Jerusalem.
188. Zalman Aranne, "Mifalah ha-himukhit ha-tarbutit shel medinat Yisrael," Ba-himukh u-va-tarbut, April, 1958, p. 12.
189. "Report on Immigration," Agaf ha-ulpanim, Department of Absorption, Jewish Agency, September, 1959.
190. Shenaton ha-memshalah--1958/59, p. 185.
191. Shlomo Kodesh, "Darkhe hanhalat ha-lashon," Memorandum in office file of Department for Language Teaching, May 6, 1959.
192. Hatzaat Taktziv shel misrad ha-himukh we-ha-tarbut lishnat ha-kesafim 1959/60, April 1, 1959--March 31, 1960, (89 pp.) p. 1.
193. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
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197. A. Katznelbogen, Letter to Shlomo Kodesh, June 6, 1959, Correspondence Files, Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem.
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203. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
204. Zalman Aranne, "Mifalah ha-himukhit ha-tarbutit shel medinat Yisrael," Ba-himukh u-va-tarbut, April, 1958, p. 12.
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206. Menahem Adir, "Reshit daat," Hapoel Hatzair, October 21, 1958, p. 11.
207. Y. L. Grodzinsky, "Ha-mivtza le-hanhalat ha-lashon," Hapoel Ha-Mizrabi, December 16, 1958, p. 10.
208. Shlomo Kodesh, Horaot la-mitnadev, Department for Language Teaching, Jerusalem, 1958, 6 pp.
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211. Ibid.
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213. Hatzaat taktiv shel misrad ha-himukh ve-ha-tarbut lishnat 1959/1960, p. 33.
214. Information given to writer by Dr. Weinberg.
215. Minutes of meeting, March 13, 1957. Copy in possession of writer.
216. Interview with Dr. Ibn Shushan on November 10, 1959.
217. Material supplied at meeting on December 2, 1959.
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219. Y. L. Grodzinsky, "Le-share ha-kinus," Hed ha-himukh, No. 18, January 31, 1957, p. 8.
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222. Eliezer Rieger, Modern Hebrew, Philosophical Library, New York, 1956, (156 pp.) p. 73.
223. Aharon Rosen, "Ivrit la-mebugarim," Entzoklopedia Himukhit, Vol. 2, Masad Bialik, Jerusalem, 1959, pp. 690-701.
224. Tokhnit limudim--le-mosdot hanhalat ha-lashon li-mebugarim, Medinat Yisrael, Misrad ha-hinukh ve-ha-tarbut, Ha-mahlakah le-hanhalat ha-lashon u-le-haskalah, Tishri, 1958 (49 pp.) pp. 1-5.
225. Ibid., p. 4.
226. Ibid., p. 5.
227. Ibid., pp. 6-8.
228. Ibid., p. 7.
229. Ibid., p. 8.
230. Ibid., pp. 9-35.
231. It is not the purpose of this dissertation to examine the curriculum in any greater detail than has already been presented in this chapter.
232. See page 318.
233. Eliyahu Efrat and Yaakov Niv (editors), Yad la-moreh, Newman Publishers, Tel Aviv, 1954, 160 pp.
234. Information obtained in interview with Y. Keren, January 15, 1960.
235. Information obtained in interviews with Dr. Shlomo Kodosh, Dr. David Marani and Mr. Aharon Rosen.
236. In this connection, the committee accepted the writer's suggestion to publish a regular column of unvowelled news articles in the vowelled weekly, La-Mathil.
237. Zfirah Barukh, "Baayot haskalat-yesod be-Tzahal be-hashvaah le-tevaot aherim (ha-Briti ve-ha-Dani)," 1959, (63 pp.) p. 1.
238. The writer had to receive permission from the Education Department of the Army to obtain information through interviews. Master-Sergeant Zfirah Barukh was authorized by Colonel Moshe Manor to meet with the writer and to provide him with "unclassified" information.
239. Zfirah Barukh, op. cit., p. 3.
240. Ibid.
241. It is reported that Colonel David (Micky) Marcus of Denver, Colorado, who volunteered to join the Israeli forces during the War



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of Liberation, met his death accidentally because a guard on patrol near a Jerusalem outpost misunderstood Colonel Marcus' response to a halt-order issued by the guard. Other occasions were reported in which loss of life and tactical errors were attributed to the absence of a commonly understood language.

- 242. Zfirah Barukh, op. cit., p. 4.
- 243. Ibid., p. 17.
- 244. Information obtained from Sergeant Barukh.
- 245. Zfirah Barukh, op. cit., p. 5.
- 246. Ibid., p. 7.
- 247. Ibid., p. 9.
- 248. Visit to Nahaneh Marcus School, March 6, 1960.
- 249. Zfirah Barukh, op. cit., p. 12.
- 250. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- 251. Ibid., p. 15.
- 252. Ibid., p. 18.
- 253. Ibid., p. 21.
- 254. Ibid., pp. 43, 45.
- 255. The rounded figure of 100,000 men who have been exposed to the different programs of basic language education in the Army is, according to Joseph Shaked, a conservative estimate.
- 256. "Ha-makhon le-madrikhe Yisrael," Ha-mahlakah le-inyane ha-noar we-he-halutz, Jerusalem, 1954, (12 pp.) p. 2.
- 257. Figures given by the administrative secretary of the Makhon.
- 258. "Ha-makhon le-madrikhe Yisrael," p. 1.
- 259. "Tokhnit limudim ba-makhon," (mimeographed) 6 pp. (No date given)
- 260. Method employed by Louis Shuval; see page 249.



PART FOUR

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS



## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

At the turn of the century a powerful incentive propelled the ideal of reconstructing the life of the returnees to the homeland and revitalizing the Hebrew language as the medium of expression and creativity. Three periods stand out in the history of Hebrew language and culture education for adult immigrants and watikim in Eretz Yisrael in the last fifty years. Each period dovetailed into the succeeding one, yet each established a pattern and character of its own and made significant contributions toward the overall enterprise of teaching the language and culture to adults.

### THE FIRST PERIOD

The first period can be characterized as the era in which the ideal of Hebraizing the Yishuv was implanted. The impetus for the opening of evening language classes for adult immigrants was provided by the Labor Movement (Ahdut ha-Avoda and Ha-Poel Ha-Tzair) at its 1919 convention in Tzeta Tikva, by the Federation of Teachers in Eretz Yisrael, by the Education Department of the Zionist Organization, and by private individuals.

By 1920 a network of evening classes was operating throughout the land, and the program was gaining popular appeal. Classes were to be found in rural locations and agricultural settlements as well as in the urban areas. In the main, the financial support for these classes came from public and private groups and from the municipalities of Tel Aviv and Jaffa.

A multiplicity of sponsors conducted classes for their own mem-



bers, each group emphasizing its own ideology. The organization of the classes was not coordinated and there often existed a duplication of effort and services. Classes functioned at an uneven tempo of interest, size of enrollment, and effectiveness. The fluctuations in the volume of the aliyot, with their attendant economic stresses, and the civilian unrest resulting from the Arab riots were among the chief factors in the limited progress recorded for the adult evening language classes.

A number of basic problems confronted the early hanhalat ha-lashon organizers. First and foremost was the constant concern about where to obtain the funds needed to conduct the evening classes. Another problem was the limited supply of competent teachers to instruct adults in the language arts. Moreover, the organizers and teachers were faced with the lack of suitable textual material, teaching aids and classroom facilities. Loss of interest by the adult students and a high rate of drop-outs were serious problems.

Notwithstanding these difficult and complex circumstances, this period witnessed substantial gains in the organization of classes, educational goals, curriculum, methodology, gradation of students, teacher education and programming. Sufficient interest was generated to attract an enrollment of 11,044 students in adult evening classes sponsored by the culture councils of Ahdut Ha-Avoda and Ha-Poel Ha-Tzair for the 1920-1926 period. Adding the enrollments which were under the auspices of municipalities, immigrant societies and local authorities, the total adult student body was approximately 20,000 persons. The percentage of adults speaking Hebrew in the



Yishuv increased from 39.6% in 1918 to 58.7% in 1932. It is reasonable to assume that the evening language classes were largely responsible for this increase.

#### THE SECOND PERIOD

The second period in the development of the adult education program began in 1936 with the organization of the Culture Department of the Vaad Leumi of the Knesset Yisrael, and ended with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. This period of twelve years can be characterized as the era of the extension of the ideal to Hebraize the Yishuv, not by individual group sponsorship but rather through the authority and responsibility of a central agency into which all efforts were joined.

During this period advances were made in the pedagogy of teaching Hebrew to adults. Three summer teacher seminars were conducted. New textbooks for adult language instruction were published. An important development was the planning and successful execution of a nation-wide campaign to raise funds and to stimulate interest for enrollment in, and operation of, evening language classes, literacy courses, Hebrew-speaking hugim, branch libraries and reading rooms, concerts and exhibits. The foundation was laid for mass literacy education. It was felt that general subjects such as arithmetic and simple bookkeeping, in addition to the Hebrew language and culture, were necessary to absorb the immigrants.

Despite the local and world-wide events which occasionally brought about an interruption in the overall operation of the even-



ing classes—the Arab riots of 1936, World War II, the holocaust of European Jewry, the British policy of restricting immigration into Palestine and the subsequent Aliya Bet immigration, the anticipated liberation of Israel and the establishment of the State—the actual operation of the language program for adult immigrants was not seriously curtailed. On the contrary, with the Aliya Bet immigration an accelerated program of language and culture teaching was instituted.

A significant accomplishment was achieved when the orthodox Jewish community, spurred by Rabbi Isaac Halevi Herzog, Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazi community, Rabbi Meir Berlin, President of the World Mizrahi, and Rabbi Eliyahu Divik Hacohen, Dean of Rabbis, called upon the entire orthodox Yishuv to join with the Department of Culture of the Vaad Leumi in the nation-wide effort to adopt the Hebrew language for conversation and study. This development was a crucial step in solidifying the Yishuv behind the cause of Hebraizing the entire community.

The total number of adults who studied in the evening classes during this period was 60,000. In addition, approximately 25,000 persons attended lectures, concerts and exhibits sponsored by the Department of Culture.

In 1948 the Yishuv's population was 650,000. The percentage of its adult population speaking Hebrew was 75.2%. This represented a substantial increase over the 1932 figure of 58.7%. Although accurate achievement records are not available, it is the generally held opinion that this percentage increase in the number of adults speaking Hebrew was due in large measure to the language classes



and literacy activities conducted by the Department of Culture during this period.

### THE THIRD PERIOD

The third and current period in adult language and culture education began in 1948 with the establishment of the State of Israel. The Vaad Leumi's Department of Culture transferred the operation of its activities to the Department of Hanhalat ha-lashon ve-haskalah la-am of the Ministry of Education and Culture. This department, together with the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency and the Department of Education and Culture of the Histadrut, conducts the entire civilian program of language, culture and literacy education for adults in Israel. The municipalities and local authorities share in financing the overall operation.

This period can be characterized as the era of the unfoldment of the ideal projected in the early years of the movement to Hebraize the Yishuv. Advances in methodology, better training and increased competency of teachers, improvement of textual material, and particularly the development and achievements of the intensive ulpanim mark this period as a maturing one in the history of adult language education.

Of special importance in this period is the Israeli Army's system of basic language and culture education. In terms of achievement, modern language teaching techniques and size of enrollment, Tzahal's program is unique in the annals of army basic language education, as well as in the entire structure of adult language and culture education in Israel.



The sustained program of language and culture education conducted by the Makhon le-madrikhe Yisrael since 1948 has demonstrated the conviction of the kibbutz leadership to promote the study of the Hebrew language and culture among the young adult olim who become affiliated with kibbutzim.

The total enrollment in all types of civilian language and culture classes for the years 1948-1960 was approximately 225,000. The breakdown of this figure is as follows: intensive ulpanim and work ulpanim--35,000; less intensive ulpaniot--150,000; literacy and basic education--40,000. The enrollment in the Army's basic education program and in the Makhon le-madrikhe Yisrael have together been estimated at 105,000 adults in the same twelve-year period.

Taking into account the accelerated influx of olim into Israel, the majority of whom were in need of basic Hebrew language and general subjects education, the lowered percentage of adults speaking Hebrew--60.3%--is not overly alarming. Nevertheless, the problem of illiteracy among the adults is not being solved and the mass volunteer campaigns to eradicate this social inadequacy are not achieving noticeable results. The awareness that an estimated 150,000 adults cannot read or write any language and cannot speak Hebrew has not moved the government to vigorous action.

An international seminar on Adult and Workers Education, held in Tel Aviv on December 4-20, 1958, focused attention on the general problem of illiteracy throughout the world. The consensus of the seminar was that the eradication of illiteracy in all countries should be the responsibility of their respective governments. Il-



literacy was considered a social ill, to be combatted in the same way as physical disease. It was recommended that UNESCO give consideration to requesting all member states to draw up and execute programs calculated to wiping out illiteracy in their territories within a ten-year period.

The seminar held that, while many agencies may be involved in stamping out illiteracy, the government must assume the responsibility of coordinating all efforts, of providing adequate funds, of setting up national governmental machinery to be concerned with the recruitment and training of staff, the production of textual material and literature, the evolving and evaluation of techniques, and so forth. It was the unanimous opinion of the Seminar that the adult illiterate should not be compelled by legislation to avail himself of the service provided by his government. Instead, incentives should be provided, such as: 1) literacy to be made a condition for employment even at the lowest levels; and 2) the prospects of promotion to be made brighter for literates.<sup>1</sup>

#### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout the years covered in this study, the greatest impetus to the organization and operation of adult language and culture education classes has been provided by the aliyot. Under the pressure of the aliyot, such education for the masses of new immigrants and watikim has been primarily of a remedial nature, that is, to help in the rapid adjustment and absorption of the immigrants on a

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<sup>1</sup>The Eradication of Illiteracy, Drafting Committee, International Seminar on Adult and Workers Education, Tel Aviv, December 4-20, 1958, 2 pp. mimeographed.



short-plan basis. As additional waves of immigration came, more classes were set up; and when immigration sloughed off, classes were closed down. Yet the people who came remained, without further concern for their continued education.

Since this factor of dependence upon the unpredictable timing and volume of immigration determined the size and scope of the adult language and culture program, the consequent operation was carried out in spurts and had no sustaining and long-range plan of organization. This shortcoming was felt keenly in the operation of the Department for Language Teaching. Because the Department's budget was controlled by the Government formula of allocations proportionate to immigration, the need to provide continued education for the masses who had already been in the country a year or longer was overlooked. Dr. Kodesh urged the Government to be concerned with this backlog of immigrants and watikim who had either been by-passed in the rush of voluminous immigration from 1948 to 1952, or who, after living in Israel for five or ten or fifteen years, have finally realized that it is worthwhile to learn the Hebrew language and Israeli culture.

In addition to the problem of inadequate financing was the problem of the vested interests of the Histadrut and other organizations and the local autonomies which have not yet permitted the establishment of a single national authority to be fully delegated and empowered to dispense all forms of adult language and culture education to the nation, similar to the authority of elementary public education.



The one major hiddush (new phenomenon) of the current period is the intensive ulpan in which students either live on the premises or commute to the school. Here they receive instruction five hours daily for a period of five months. The student body is heterogeneous in age, physical stamina, country of origin, cultural and educational background, and expectations from study. The ulpan is a unique school and avowedly serves a unique purpose: to teach the Hebrew language, the culture of Israel and the heritage of Judaism to adult immigrants so that they can be speedily integrated into the economic, social, political and spiritual life of the country.

This "pressure cooker" type of education has generally demonstrated very satisfactory achievements in language and culture education for the absorption of large numbers of intellectuals and professionals. Although its success has been acclaimed, both in Israel and abroad, no serious attempt has been made to evaluate its operation and to determine its future direction. The writer recommends the following subjects for further analytical studies:

1. Is the ulpan accomplishing its educational objectives and what are the tabulated results in terms of achievement in the language arts, Hebrew literature, Tanakh, civics and Israeli folklore?
2. To what degree is the ulpan fulfilling the objective of economic and social absorption? Tabulation of statistics is essential.
3. Is the intensivity of its daily program and the attendant pressures and tensions affecting the mental and physical health of its students? What is the incidence of drop-outs and for what reasons?
4. After fourteen years of continuous operation, what is the eval-



uation of the ulpan institution in terms of the following: curriculum, student intake policies, student classification and graduation, number of consecutive hours of daily instruction, length of the mahzor, recreational programming, administrative procedures, teaching methods, textbooks and teaching aids, teacher recruitment and training, in-service teacher seminars, personnel policies, and so forth?

5. Since an attempt was made in 1959-60 to conduct experiments in the use of vowelised and unvowelised texts for the teaching of Hebrew to adults, and since this experiment was prematurely discontinued without any conclusive findings, the writer recommends that this study be resumed to determine the more expedient approach to Hebrew reading. Definitive conclusions in this area could have far-reaching effects on the learning of the Hebrew language, not only in Israel but in the Diaspora as well.

6. In the light of the growing need, what plans are being made by the Ministry of Education and Culture through its Department for Language Teaching to provide Hebrew language and Israeli culture education for tourists and temporary residents, for officials in the ambassadorial and consular corps, for Arab Israeli citizens, for visiting students and professionals from African and Asian countries, and for the large influx of students from Western countries?

7. Viewing the intensive ulpan as a permanent educational institution in Israel, what steps are being taken to evaluate the goals and methods of the social-centered Ulpan Akiba in Netanya and the academic-centered Ulpan Etzion in Jerusalem, for the purpose of



determining what shall be the overall directions of future ulpanim in terms of educational goals and social adaptation to live in Israel?

Since 1949, when the Department for Language Teaching was established, no scientific evaluation has been made of its operation and its effectiveness. It is generally considered a sound policy to take an accounting every five years of any educational enterprise for the obvious reason of determining whether the avowed aims and purposes of the enterprise are being accomplished and to what degree they are meeting the current needs. Such an accounting is long overdue in Israel.

With this in mind, the writer feels that a nationwide Adult Language-Culture-Literacy Conference should be convened to examine the entire operation of hanhalat ha-lashon in Israel, as it is now being conducted by the Government, by the Jewish Agency, by the Histadrut, by the municipalities and by the local authorities. Every possible aspect of the program -- curriculum, texts, teacher education, budgets, facilities, administrative procedures, libraries, social centers, and so forth -- should be subjected to close investigation by professionals in the fields of adult education, educational psychology, economics, vocational guidance, sociology and group work.

Special committees should assume specific assignments. After the preliminary studies have been completed, they should be submitted to a coordinating action committee selected from the original representatives, which committee will formulate a full report for presen-



tation to the Knesset. Simultaneously, the public should be given the full story of hanhalat ha-lashon we-haskalah la-am in the land, complete with facts, figures and challenges.

It is to be hoped that the outcome of such a Conference will be a forthright pronouncement by the Government that it intends to advance the total Hebraization of the Yishuv; that it alone, and not a network of other sponsors, will assume the full authority and responsibility for hanhalat ha-lashon and for the eradication of adult illiteracy in the State of Israel; and that it will provide adequate budgets to finance this program in all its dimensions. In this way, adult language and culture education will properly become a primary concern of an enlightened State.



GLOSSARY-A-

- Agaf ha-ulpanim.....that division of the Department of Absorption of the Jewish Agency which deals with the ulpanim.
- Aggada.....the homiletic element of the Talmud, as distinguished from the halakha, or legal, element of the Talmud.
- Ahdut ha-avoda.....one of the labor parties in the Histadrut ha-ovdim ha-ivrim be-eretz Yisrael. The party is now represented in the coalition government of Israel.
- Aleph, bet, gimel.....the first three letters in the Hebrew alphabet.
- Aliya (pl., aliyot).....lit., "going-up." A wave of immigration into Palestine or Israel.
- Aliya Bet.....the wave of maapilim entries.
- Asefat ha-nivharim.....the elected body of the Knesset Yisrael during the Mandate period.
- Ashkenazi.....group of Jewish communities in Eastern, Western and Central Europe, in contradistinction to the South European, or Sephardic, Jewish communities.

-B-

- Ba-mahaneh la-oleh.....magazine published by the Israeli Army for students in its basic language program.
- Bet ha-nasi.....the President's house.
- Bet midrash (pl., bate midrash).....lit., house of study. School for higher learning or professional education.

-D-

- Daber ka-halakha.....speak correctly (according to rules).
- Dapim le-ivrit.....worksheets for the study of Hebrew.

-E-

- Emek.....valley. Emek Yezreel, a fertile stretch of land from the sea at Haifa and Acre to the Jordan Valley.
- Eretz Yisrael.....the land of Israel, Palestine.



-G-

grush.....a coin, equivalent to  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent.

-H-

Habimah.....lit., the stage. The veteran theatrical company in Palestine since 1928, and in the State of Israel.

ha-dikduk ha-funktionali.....practical grammar (text or method).

Ha-himukh.....lit., education. Title of a professional quarterly published by the Federation of Teachers in Israel.

hakhshara.....training, preparation.

haluka.....lit., distribution. A system of relief for supporting the indigent Jews in Eretz Yisrael with funds collected abroad. Haluka for a time played a valuable part in Jewish life by keeping alive in the Diaspora the sentimental attachment to Eretz Yisrael, and by sustaining the indigent in the Holy Land. When the movement arose for colonizing Palestine, however, haluka began to be looked upon as degrading, and in the last twenty-five years it has ceased to be a factor in the economic life of Eretz Yisrael.

halutzim.....pioneers.

hanhalat ha-lashon.....lit., the inheritance of the language. Used to denote language teaching.

ha-noar ha-oved.....working youth.

ha-oved ha-dati.....the religious worker.

Hapoel Hamizrahi.....the labor movement aligned to the principles of religious Zionism. Since 1956 it has been joined with the Mizrahi party to form the National Religious Party.

Hapoel Hatzair.....lit., the young worker. The Jewish socialist workers' movement in Palestine, founded in 1906, with the aim of effecting the "conquest of labor." Among the early leaders of the movement was Aaron David Gordon. Also, the name of a weekly published by the labor group.

heder, hadarim.....lit., room, rooms. Term used to denote school-room or school for Hebrew and religious studies for children of elementary school age.

Hevra Yisrael la-Tarbut.....The Israeli Association for Culture.

Hevrot of Ein Yaakov, etc.....study groups engaged in learning Talmud, Rabbinic literature, the Psalms, the Pentateuch, and Ethics.



Hibbat Zion.....lit., the love of Zion. The movement, especially in Eastern Europe, for the settlement of Jews in Palestine, prior to the period of Dr. Theodor Herzl.

hinukh.....education.

Histadrut ha-ovdim ha-ivrim be-eretz Yisrael.....The Federation of Jewish Workers in Eretz Yisrael. The general trade union of the Jewish workers of Palestine, founded in 1920, as a result of the amalgamation of two workers' parties, the Ahdut ha-Avoda and the Hapoel Hatzair. The Histadrut membership was 5,000 in 1920. In 1960 it was 675,000.

Hitahdut Olei Germania.....Association of Immigrants from Germany.

Hovevei Zion.....lit., lovers of Zion. An organization for the settlement of Jews in Palestine. It arose out of a movement among East European Jewry during the nineteenth century. Among its principal adherents were Rabbis Zevi Kalischer and Judah Alkalay, Moses Hess and Perez Smelenskin.

hug, hugim.....study circle(s).

-I-

igeret (igarot) la-moreh.....a letter or message to teachers. This refers to the mimeographed manuals published monthly by the Department for Language Teaching and distributed to the ulpan teachers.

Ihud ha-kevutzot ve-ha-kibbutzim.....The unified (central) organization for the kevutzot and the kibbutzim.

Ivri, daber ivrit.....Hebrew, speak Hebrew! A slogan used to urge Jews to speak only Hebrew.

-K-

kamatz gadol, kamatz katan, tzereh, segol, shuruk, kubutz.....vocalization signs used with Hebrew letters to denote vowel sounds.

Keilim.....a tractate in one of the six Mishnaic parts of the Talmud; in the seder (part) Zeraim.

kibbush ha-lashon.....lit., the conquest of the Hebrew language.

kibbutz, kibbutzim.....community settlements similar to the kvutzot, but organized on a larger scale. See kvutzot.

kinus, kinusim.....conference(s), convention(s), meeting(s).

kita.....class.



Knesset.....the legislative body of the government of Israel.

Knesset Yisrael.....the Jewish Community in Eretz Yisrael during the British Mandatory period. The Knesset Yisrael elected the Asefat ha-mivharim, the assembly of delegates. The first election was held in 1920. David Yellin, Yitzhak Ben Zvi and Jacob Thon were its executive officers.

Kol Yisrael Haverim.....lit., all Israel are friends (brethren). The name of a Hebrew high school in Jerusalem.

k'ra ukhtov.....lit., read and write. The name of a textbook for teaching reading and writing.

kvutza, kvutzot.....lit., group(s). A workers' association or settlement. The kvutzot figured as the most vital instruments in the rebuilding of the homeland. They are centers for the realization of the socialistic ideal of community life, and have contributed some of the leading figures in the Yishuv. Degania Aleph was the first kvutza, founded in 1909.

-L-

lashon.....lit., tongue. Language.

lashon ha-hakhamim.....language of the wise.

-M-

maapilim.....Jews fleeing from Hitlerism who dared to land in Palestine without the permission of the British Mandatory Government. Illegal immigrants.

Mador le-tipul ba-oleh.....The Division for the Care of the Immigrant.

Mahleket Hanhalat Ha-lashon.....The Department for Language Teaching.

mahzor, mahzorim.....semester, term of study.

Makhon le-Ma'arikhe Yisrael.....a school for leaders and guides of Israel.

medina.....country, state.

Merkaz le-Tarbut Datit.....Center for Religious Culture.

meshek.....administrative unit, usually referring to a farm.

mesirut nefesh.....self-sacrifice.

Midrasha Mamlakhtit le-Hinukh ba-Negev.....The government teachers'



seminary in the Negev (Southern Israel, in Beersheba).

Midrashot le-more kfar.....schools for rural teachers.

Mifal ha-mil.....the project of the mil (1/10 cent). Refers to the campaign to raise funds and stimulate public interest in support of hanhalat ha-lashon.

mivtza.....an undertaking, project, operation, campaign.

Mivtza Hanhalat Ha-lashon.....Operation Language Teaching.

Mivtza Hisul Ha-baarut.....Campaign to stamp out illiteracy.

Mivtza Le-biur Ha-analphabetiyut.....Campaign to eliminate illiteracy.

mizzug galuyot.....absorption and integration of the immigrants.

more-am.....teachers of the people, teachers for adults.

moshav, moshavim.....semi-collective settlement.

moshave ovdim.....rural centers for workers' settlements. The settlers lease their land from the Jewish National Fund on the condition that they employ no outside labor except members of their own families, or the mutual assistance of other settlers. Supplies are purchased cooperatively. Sales and distribution are also done cooperatively through the Histadrut. The first moshave ovdim were Nahalal and Kfar Yehezkiel, founded in 1920.

musafe ha-shabat.....literary or social events scheduled on Sabbath afternoons. Also refers to special supplements of newspapers published Fridays.

-N-

nikkud.....vocalization used with Hebrew letters to facilitate reading.

-O-

Ohel.....lit., tent. An Israeli theatrical company, founded in 1925.

oleh

oleh, olim.....lit., go up. Refers to persons immigrating to Eretz Yisrael; immigrants.

oneg (onege) shabbat.....gatherings engaged in bringing delight to the Sabbath, & c., celebrating the sacred day through study, discussion, dance and song.

-P-

pesukim.....lit., passages. Sections of the Bible, Talmud, or Rabbinic



literature. In this dissertation, Pesukim is the name of a textbook.

pinkas lomed.....a student's notebook.

pinot.....study groups.

Peale Zion.....lit., workers of Zion. In 1925, the Right Peale Zion united with the Zeire Zion to form the Peale Zion, the Universal Jewish Socialist Workers' Party. The party is no longer in existence.

-R-

rakaze ha-reshuyot.....educational organizers of the local authorities.

rakazim.....culture coordinators.

Reshit Daat.....lit., the beginning of learning. The title of a basic textbook for teaching reading and writing. (The same name is used in the U. S. for beginners' texts in phonetical reading.)

-S-

shalab, shelabim.....lit., stage or level. A term or portion of the school calendar.

Shibat Zion.....the return to Zion (Eretz Yisrael).

shita, shitot.....lit., methods, methodology. In this case, an educational philosophy or teaching approach.

Shivte Yisrael.....the tribes of Israel.

siha, sihot.....discussion, talk, or conversation. Used as an instructional method in teaching the Hebrew language.

smikha.....rabbinical ordination.

-T-

Tanakh.....the Holy Scriptures.

temiat am.....people's movement.

tik.....portfolio.

tiyul, tiyulim.....hikes and sight-seeing trips aimed at acquainting the students with the homeland. An educational technique begun in the early days of language and culture teaching to adults, and continued to this day as a sound device in teaching the Hebrew language and culture to immigrants.



**totzeret ha-arets.....**goods and products manufactured, grown or produced in Eretz Yisrael.

**Tzahal.....**The Israeli Army of Defense.

-V-

**Vaad ha-lashon.....**The Language Committee, organized in 1890 in Jerusalem for the purpose of coining new words and terms necessary to the general studies which the Jewish schools were beginning to offer, and to meet the demand for an expanded Hebrew vocabulary among the general Jewish population of Palestine. Since the founding of the State of Israel, the task of the Committee, now called the Academy of the Hebrew Language, has been broadened. It has become the initiator and guide to the greatly increased usage of the Hebrew language in all endeavors.

**Vaad ha-tarbut.....**Culture Committee.

**Vaad Leumi.....**The National Council of the Jews of Palestine. Its members were selected by the Asefat Ha-mivharim of the Knesset Yisrael. The Mandatory Government recognized the Vaad Leumi as the official representative of Palestine Jewry in its local matters. It was given a limited right of taxation for schools, social welfare, health work and religious purposes. The Department of Culture was organized by the Vaad Leumi in 1935 to conduct language and culture classes for the immigrants.

-W-

**watik, watikim.....lit., veteran(s).** Settlers in Eretz Yisrael of long residence.

-Y-

**yeshivot.....**academies for the study of Talmudic and Rabbinic literature.

**Yishuv.....lit., settlement.** Term denotes the entire Jewish community in Eretz Yisrael.



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